# HORACE
# THE SATIRES

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# HORACE

# THE SATIRES

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

EDWARD P. MORRIS

PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN YALE COLLEGE

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MORRIS. HORACE SATIRES.
W. P. I

# PREFACE

This book will be found to differ from the many excellent editions of the Satires accessible to American students chiefly in the emphasis which I have desired to place upon the thought of Horace, as distinguished from the language or the verse or the allusions. That is, without denying that Horace may be made useful as the basis for a study of Roman life, and without forgetting that it is absurd to talk of studying the thought, if the language is only imperfectly understood, I have nevertheless believed that of all the Latin writers read in college Horace was the one in whose writings literary form could be most interestingly studied. In the Satires, too, the connection of thought is peculiar and, at first, difficult to follow. To meet this difficulty and to facilitate the understanding of each satire as a whole, the introductions have been made somewhat fuller than is usual.

E. P. MORRIS.

# INTRODUCTION

THE events in the life of Horace are known to us from two sources: first, from an extract from Suetonius, preserved in the manuscripts of Horace and printed below; and, second, from the many personal allusions in his works.

Quintus Horatius Flaccus was born in Venusia, a Roman colony in the borderland between Lucania and Apulia, on the 8th of December, 65 B.C. His father was a freedman, that is, he had been a slave, but had bought his freedom or had been manumitted, and was engaged in some small business in or near Venusia. He was apparently of Italian stock, and in character and circumstances he was a man of the older Roman type, energetic, prudent, ambitious. The ambition took, in particular, the form of a determination to give to his son the best possible education and opportunities, — one of many modern touches in the life of Horace, — and in furtherance of this determination he brought the son to Rome and placed him in one of the best schools of the city. Somewhere about 45 B.C. Horace went to Athens — as young men now go to a university — to carry on studies and hear lectures on rhetoric, philosophy, and mathematics; this was the ordinary culmination of a Roman higher education, and Horace at this time, as probably also in the school in Rome, formed associations and friendships with young men of intellectual tastes and of social position somewhat higher than his own. While he was still a student at Athens, not yet quite twenty-one, the death of Caesar in March, 44, divided the Roman world into two hostile camps, and when

Brutus came to Athens in the late summer of 44, on his way to assume the governorship of Macedonia and Asia Minor, Horace abandoned his studies and accompanied him with the nominal title of *tribunus militum*. Of the two years that intervened between the death of Caesar and the battle of Philippi, in 42, there is no record except the rather juvenile seventh satire of the First Book. It is probable that his father had died and that the property had been lost, perhaps confiscated; for when Horace returned to Rome in 41, he was obliged to support himself by taking a clerkship in the treasury department; here he began his career as a writer.

Behind these bare facts of his early life the temperament and character of Horace were taking shape. The story has in it so much that is modern that we are perhaps in danger of forcing the analogies, yet the outlines of the process are clear. Horace was a country boy, trained in the prudent traditions of a quiet life; his father desired for him the rise in station which he had himself only partially achieved, and sought it by means of a higher education and more stimulating associations than a remote village could afford. From the studies of the university the young man was plunged into the floods of civil war, following the leadership of the half-mystical and wholly romantic Brutus. He returned to Rome a pardoned rebel; the cause which he still believed to have been the cause of liberty was lost; his hopes of advancement in public life were at an end; his father was dead, his friends scattered, his property gone. Obscure, disappointed, perhaps a little embittered, he was to begin life over again. If this young man seems a different person from the Horace whom we associate with graceful love poems and the doctrine of the golden mean, it is only because we accept the result without following the process which led to it. For the two are identical; there is no break in the development; indeed, it is out of precisely such material that the mellow and penetrating commentator upon life is made, when success and recogni-

tion, as well as disenchantment and difficulty, have done their part in shaping his character.

It was in the decade between 41, when he returned after Philippi, and 30, when at the age of thirty-five he published the Epodes and the Second Book of Satires, that his character and his life philosophy were matured. Few events are known to us out of these years. In 39 or 38 he was introduced by Vergil and Varius to Maecenas, and in 33 he received from Maecenas the gift of the Sabine farm, which was in a special sense his home for the rest of his life. But the intimacy with the circle of poets and critics who were gathered about Maecenas, greatly as it stimulated him, and the lasting friendship with Maecenas himself, with all the resulting benefits, were only important incidents in his development; his real life was in his writings. He began with a group of three satires, 2, 7, and 8 of Book I, and it was these which, with some of the Epodes, brought him to the notice of Vergil, and ultimately of Maecenas. They are plainly the work of a young writer. The seventh, though it is well written, is trivial; the eighth is a kind of burlesque Priapus-poem, without wit or real humor, unpleasantly personal and with no marked attractiveness of style. Of the second it must be said plainly that it is an attempt to draw attention by jesting indecency; there is no other possible interpretation of the choice of subject. On the other hand, the style of the seventh is good, the eighth is better than most poems of its kind, and the second, except in the choice of subject, is the real Horace, easy in style and handling, humorous and yet in a certain way serious. There is enough of sharpness and even of bitterness in it to explain the criticisms that it brought upon the writer, and the tone of the next satire, 4 of Book I, shows that Horace was himself aware that the earlier satires needed defense, if not apology. But a clear-sighted critic, on the lookout, as the members of the circle of Maecenas were, for young men of promise, would certainly have seen that the writer of these poems was a man not to be

neglected. The satires which followed the admission of Horace to the friendship of Vergil and Varius and Maecenas need no specific comment beyond that which will be found in the special introductions; they are not the work of an obscure beginner, but of a man tempered by association with men of taste, mellowed by friendly recognition, and already master of an easy style and a sane and humorous philosophy of life.

His choice of satire as a means of expression is explained by Horace in *Sat.* 1, 10, 40–47; he says that other fields — comedy, tragedy, the epic, the bucolic — were already occupied, and that satire alone seemed open to him. But this explanation is not to be taken seriously; the causes which determined his choice were deeper, partly in his own temperament, partly in the conditions of his time. He was by nature an observer of men; he found in the interplay of character and circumstance a spectacle of constant interest, and the account which he gives (*Sat.* 1, 4, 105–143) of the teachings of his father and of his own habitual attitude, however humorous the application which he makes of it, is essentially true. To a man of such a habit of mind satire, in the sense which Horace gave to the word, as a good-natured commentary, that is, upon the follies and upon the virtues, too, of the men with whom he lived, was the most natural vehicle of expression. In so far as he was inclined toward more serious and emotional expression, he used at first the half-lyrical form of the Epodes, and the absence of the more profound feelings from the Satires is to be explained in part by the fact that they found another outlet in such poems as Epodes 4, 7, 9, and 16. But these strongly emotional verses look backward to the tempestuous past; they express the attitude of the obscure and defeated republican, struggling with circumstances and not yet in harmony with himself, and their subjects belong rather to the period of strife than to the new era upon which Rome was entering. The Augustan Age, precisely because it checked the vigorous public activities of the preceding period and turned

men back upon science and philosophy and law and literature, was of all periods in Roman history the one which offered the most inviting material for humorous commentary. As on the crowded streets of the city men of every country and of all stations met and passed on, — a peasant from the mountains, a deposed Eastern king, a Greek philosopher, a Roman noble, — so in the complex social structure motives of every possible form and color were at work. Though public activities were checked, the office-holding and office-seeking politician flourished as he always flourishes under a one-man power, and his ambitions, selfish enough, yet not wholly unworthy, were an open invitation to discriminating satire. The immense business interests, too, which centered at Rome, presented then, as now, their puzzling mixture of motives and of influences, and it was to the man of business that Horace addressed the satire which was the preface to his first collected publication, as if the business man was to him the most marked figure of the age. Intermingled with these ambitions as a kind of common reward for every form of success was the prize of social recognition and prominence, which seems to have had for a Roman, with his outspoken personal conceits and vanities, an attractiveness even greater and more general than it has in modern societies ; and certainly no spectacle offers itself more invitingly to the genial satirist than the spectacle of the social struggle. Horace played his part in society, as Thackeray did, and gathered material for his Book of Snobs. Somewhat apart from all these rivalries, but with rivalries no less keen in their own sphere, were the two schools of philosophy, the Epicurean and the Stoic. Horace is often, in a vague way, regarded as an Epicurean, but he was, in fact, of no school or of a school of his own, and it is not as an Epicurean that he occasionally strikes a sudden blow at a Stoic, or, more often, burlesques the paradoxes of the school with ironical solemnity. He recognized the underlying truth of the Stoics ; he was by no means unconscious of the seriousness of

life; he was, indeed, himself a preacher; but he was also a discriminating humorist, and the formal Stoic, apparently more concerned about the growth of his beard than about his growth in grace, and more insistent upon the phraseology of his doctrines than upon their intelligibility, appealed to both sides of his mind. In the long picture gallery of the Satires no figure is more frequently recurrent. Nor did Horace neglect the men of his own craft. The Augustan Age, which is often called the golden age of Latin literature, was, at any rate, a period most prolific in skillful writers. Through chance allusions, serious or satirical, we are able to see, behind the figures of the greater poets whose writings have survived to our times, a long array of men of lesser rank, not undistinguished among their contemporaries, and undoubtedly writers of merit. And below them was the crowd of poets and historians and critics and essayists whose names even have been lost. Here was rich material for the satirist, and material especially for such a satirist as Horace, who was always as much critic as poet and interested alike in the practice and in the theory of his art. Somewhat less prominent in the life of the city, yet marked enough to give occasional color to the scene, were various minor caprices or eccentricities, each with its little circle of devotees. There were the collectors of old bronzes and tableware, indifferent to the artistic imperfections of their rare pieces, but credulous of their antiquity. The professional musicians formed, then as now, a class by themselves, with their own standards and judgments. Petty officials rejoiced in opportunities to display themselves in elaborate costume. It is in part the notice which Horace has bestowed upon them that makes the so-called legacy hunters seem to have been so numerous in Rome, but the brilliant satire in which their arts are burlesqued was the product of observation, not of invention. The proper arrangement of a *menu* and the doctrines of gastronomy were quite certainly matters of serious concern to many persons in Roman society, though it is possible that the

humorously detailed descriptions and travesties in the Second Book make the followers of this particular mania more prominent than they actually were in Roman life. But certainly the society to which Horace's friendship with Maecenas gave him access was a highly complex society, one which brought before his observant eye a most interesting variety of types and of individuals, and invited good-humored comment and even caustic remark. The Satires are not the result of so mechanical a choice as Horace jokingly implies, but the inevitable expression of the reflections of such a man as Horace was upon such a society as that of the Augustan Age.

The form which Horace's commentary on life was to take was already determined for him. In this respect ancient literature was to a high degree conventional and traditional; when once the type was fixed by the influence of some great originator, the range of subsequent deviation from the type was small. Didactic poetry was written in hexameters from Hesiod to Ovid; innovator as Euripides was, his variations from the norm of tragedy are in reality slight. Form and content are identified under one name in the *iambi* of Archilochus. The form of Roman satire, or at least the prevalent form, was fixed by C. Lucilius. He was an *eques* of the period of the Gracchi and the younger Scipio Africanus, a man of education and rank, a conservative in politics, and a writer of force and courage. His range of subjects was not very different from that of Horace, — literary criticism, ethical discussion, social comment, — but a large place was occupied by political satire, which was almost inevitable in that stormy period and in the writings of a friend of Scipio. In tone he was, so far as can be judged from the extant fragments and from the statements of his successors, extremely personal and harsh. The fact that the fragments of his writings have come down largely in quotations by the grammarians, who were interested chiefly in unusual words or phrases, makes it difficult to form an independent judgment

of his style. The longest quotation, a definition of *virtus* in thirteen verses, is not without dignity of thought and expression, but in general the criticism of Horace, that Lucilius wrote too freely and with too little attention to finish of style, seems to be justified. The loss of his writings is a loss to linguistic and literary history, rather than to literature itself. But he performed the great service of determining both the tone and the form of satire. He gave to it for all time that critical and censorious tone which is still associated with the name and, after considerable experiment with other verse forms which had been used by Ennius, he settled upon the hexameter as the most suitable meter. In selecting satire as his field, Horace therefore felt himself bound by all the force of strong tradition to a certain tone and a certain verse.

But the force of tradition and convention in ancient literature, strong as it was, did not preclude originality; it merely set the bounds within which originality might work. Of imitation, in any proper sense of the word, that is, of attempt to copy as closely as possible the work of an older writer, there is very little evidence in Greek or Latin literature, and Horace, setting himself to write *Lucili ritu*, as he says, accepting as his starting point the definition which Lucilius had given to satire, was also acutely conscious of the imperfections of his predecessor, and fully determined to avoid them in his own work. The most evident of these imperfections was in the matter of style. The fragments of the satires of Lucilius are bold and crude in expression; they say what was to be said, but they say it without charm. There is no evidence of care for workmanship, of pleasure in attractive expression. But between Lucilius and Horace was the great Ciceronian period, in which the whole subject of Latin style in prose and in verse was most warmly debated by men who were daily practicing the art of writing. Two generations had contributed to raise the standard of good style, and Horace and the friends with whom he lived were

desirous of raising it still further. Horace was, besides, by nature a literary artist, to whom the shaping of phrases into effective and pleasing form was an end in itself. It is, indeed, surprising to a modern reader that the justice of his guarded and moderate criticisms of the style of Lucilius should have been questioned by any intelligent student of Latin literature in the Augustan Age. That he was entirely successful in his attempt to improve in respect to style upon the work of his predecessor has never been doubted.

The other direction in which Horace endeavored to surpass Lucilius, without deviating too widely from the type, led him into greater difficulties. The satire of Lucilius was undoubtedly pungent and bitter in its attacks upon persons and upon parties, and this savageness of tone, which in various forms was familiar and agreeable to the Romans, was, in fact, an essential element in satire of the Lucilian type. But it was in every way impossible in the Augustan Age; the political situation between 42 and 31 B.C. would not have borne rough handling, and the softening of manners had put a check upon personalities. The problem, therefore, which presented itself to Horace was to retain the pungency of individual criticism without violation of the canons of good taste and without offense to public men. A part of the problem he made no attempt to solve; he left politics out of his satire entirely, even at the time when his patriotic feeling was expressing itself in the Epode *quo, quo scelesti ruitis?* and in Epode 16. But to the problem of giving to his satire the appearance without the reality of personal attack, he addressed himself with much ingenuity. The Satires seem to bristle with proper names, but examination shows that only a very few of the allusions are in fact personal attacks. Many of the names are taken from Lucilius and had long since ceased to be anything but types in literature. Others are from the Ciceronian period, the names of men who were then notorious.

Still others, men of Horace's day, were in their lifetime already so much the subject of open gossip and comment that an allusion to them was no more properly offensive or, indeed, personal, than an allusion in a modern newspaper to the men whose names are upon everybody's lips. Many names are fictitious, some pure inventions like the names in a novel, others disguising an allusion to a real person. The residuum of actual personality, such as would be offensive to modern feeling, is extremely small. Direct attack upon an individual was, in fact, as little to Horace's taste as to our own, and was incompatible with the lightness of touch which he was endeavoring to attain. Even the semblance of severity, which the Lucilian tradition obliged him to maintain in his earlier work, grows less distinct as he becomes conscious of his peculiar powers. The Second Book has less of it than the First; indeed, the first satire of that book is a kind of travesty of the severely personal satire and, by implication, a renunciation of it. The place of Horace in the history of Roman satire is, it is true, in the line of succession from Lucilius, but his own contribution to that history amounts almost to the creation of a new literary *genre*, a new variety of satire.

The events in the life of Horace after the publication of the Epodes and the Second Book in 30 B.C. are of interest to the reader of the Satires only in so far as they interpret his earlier period. He turned at once from satire to lyric poetry, following still further the path upon which he had entered in the Epodes, and published in 23 B.C. the first three books of the Odes, to which he gave the best of his powers and the best years of his life. Aside from other and more determining motives, — the inner impulse and the fact that the lyric is a higher form of art than satire, — the choice doubtless indicates also a feeling that he had for the time exhausted the field of satire, that he had carried his modifications of the Lucilian type as far as it was possible for him to carry them. But the habit of observation

was still strong in him, and after the publication of the Odes he resumed his commentary on life and society in the form of epistles in hexameter. By the choice of a new and different form he freed himself from the limitations of satire; at the same time, as the tradition of the epistle in verse was less definitely fixed, the new form did not hamper him. The interval that separates such a satire as 2, 6 from such an epistle as 1, 7 is very slight; by addressing the satire to Maecenas, he could easily have made it an epistle in form, and with a few modifications the epistle might have been published with the Satires. It might be said that the three collections of hexameter poetry represent three steps in a continuous process; the First Book of the Satires is, in the main, satire after the manner of Lucilius, the Second Book is an experiment with the dialogue form, and the First Book of the Epistles marks the complete breaking away from the Lucilian tradition. They are three stages in the working out of a literary form within which the temperament of Horace could express itself with the least possible sense of restriction.

Before his death, which occurred on the 27th of November, 8 B.C., Horace was already recognized as the greatest of Roman lyric poets and as the most conspicuous figure, next to Vergil, in the literature of his time. This position his poems retained after his death; they were universally read and were used as text-books in schools. Critical and learned commentary began to gather about them in the first century of the Empire, and, before the fall of Roman power in the West, copies of his works were in wide circulation, often prefaced by the account of his life from Suetonius and annotated with *scholia*. During the Middle Ages, when knowledge of the ancient world was at its lowest, his poems were still read in schools and frequently copied in the monastery libraries, and with the Revival of Learning many editions were issued from the early printing presses. In modern times they have formed a part of the

school or university curriculum in all countries; they have been translated more often than the works of any other ancient writer, and have deeply influenced modern literature. All this is evidence of the high esteem in which his poetry has been held by scholars and men of letters; the estimate of men of affairs, of men outside of academic life, is somewhat similar. For it is probably true that of all the writers of Greek and Latin poetry — many of them greater than Horace — no one has so frequently been carried away from the university life and become a part of the familiar intellectual furniture of educated men in active life. The explanation of an interest so widespread and so long-continued is not, of course, to be sought in those qualities or characteristics which Horace shares with other writers. He reflects, it is true, a highly interesting period in history, but the letters of Cicero are an even more vivid reflection of a more critical period. His poetic form, as it is worked out in the lyrics, is most admirable, and poetic form is one of the main reasons for our continued study of the two classic literatures, but the range of its attractive power is limited. That which has differentiated Horace from other writers and made him permanently attractive to men of widely varied taste is independent of his circumstances and, to a considerable degree, of his artistic form; it lies partly in the personal character which his writings disclose and partly in the permanent worth of his comments upon life.

The character of a writer or an artist as it shows itself in his work must be learned by indirection, by impressions repeated and deepened into familiarity. For this kind of personal acquaintance Horace gives abundant material. Enough has been said above to correct the notion that he was a *dilettante*, playing with life. He was, it is true, fundamentally an observer rather than an actor, and he was by temperament genial and tolerant; these are the qualities upon which the charm of his personality rests; but a merely temperamental tolerance is, like tempera-

mental optimism, a very superficial and uninteresting quality. Horace was a man of warm feeling and of strong convictions, though his convictions are in part alien to our thought, and the lightness with which he sometimes touches serious things is not the lightness of carelessness. He had learned early, not without struggle and pain, the lesson of adjustment to the limitations of life, had learned that the secret of a composed and dignified life lies in the acceptance of the inevitable. Even in his less cheerful moods he faced his heaviest losses with steadiness : —

> durum : sed levius fit patientia,
> quidquid corrigere est nefas.

But his ordinary mood was not tragic ; he preferred to meet life with a smile, not underestimating the possibilities of loss and trouble, but also not overestimating them. And it is the fact that his genial acceptance of life rests upon a foundation of cool judgment and shrewd comprehension that gives it meaning. It is this combination that makes him the philosopher for men of the world. For the man of affairs, if he is conscious of life at all, is seeking for a formula which will include all the follies and weaknesses of men and will teach him how to accept them with a smile. The real meaning of Horace's philosophy is poorly expressed by *nil admirari*, as the words are commonly understood, and not very well by *aurea mediocritas ;* it is a philosophy of comprehension and tolerance, and the charm of his personality is that he so perfectly embodies his own doctrine.

The value of his comments upon men and society lies partly in the application of his philosophy to life, partly in the peculiar forms in which he expresses it. His satires, and, to a less degree, his epistles, are a picture gallery. He does not describe individuals or, if he does, it is in terms so general as to make them types ; his little pictures are done in few lines, but in lines so expressive that they tell the essential truth about a man. Such a characterization as that of Tigellius in *Sat.* 1, 3 or that

of Damasippus in *Sat.* 2, 3, or the longer description by suggestion in *Sat.* 1, 9, is as true and as recognizable now as it was when it was written, because it presents the essential qualities which are of no single period or race. The power to draw such pictures is not, it is true, the highest kind of artistic power, and it does not necessarily carry with it either a profound philosophy or great breadth of view. Great artists have lacked it, and some caricaturists have had it. The most obvious modern illustrations are in fiction; George Eliot had not a trace of it; Anthony Trollope had it in a high degree. Such little pictures do not teach us the meaning of life, in its larger aspects and relations. They teach us in a nearer way about people; they show us how to analyze and classify; they stimulate our intelligent comprehension of the men we meet. The reader of Horace, if he gets his lesson truly, understands better the man who sits in the seat next to him, and, if he becomes a true disciple, he understands himself better, too.

## VITA HORATII

From Suetonius, *De Viris Illustribus*

Q. Horatius Flaccus Venusinus, patre, ut ipse tradit, libertino et exactionum coactore, ut vero creditum est, salsamentario, cum illi quidam in altercatione exprobrasset: 'quotiens ego vidi patrem tuum brachio se emungentem!' Bello Philippensi excitus a M. Bruto imperatore tribunus militum meruit, victisque partibus venia impetrata scriptum quaestorium comparavit. Ac primo Maecenati, mox Augusto insinuatus non mediocrem in amborum amicitia locum tenuit. Maecenas quantopere eum dilexerit satis testatur illo epigrammate: —

> ni te visceribus meis, Horati,
> plus iam diligo, tu tuum sodalem
> Ninnio videas strigosiorem;

sed multo magis extremis iudiciis tali ad Augustum elogio: 'Horati Flacci ut mei esto memor.' Augustus epistularum quoque ei officium obtulit, ut hoc ad Maecenatem scripto significat: 'ante ipse sufficiebam scribendis epistulis amicorum, nunc occupatissimus et infirmus Horatium nostrum a te cupio abducere. Veniet ergo ab ista parasitica mensa ad hanc regiam et nos in epistulis scribendis adiuvabit.' Ac ne recusanti quidem aut succensuit quicquam aut amicitiam suam ingerere desiit. Extant epistulae, e quibus argumenti gratia pauca subieci: 'sume tibi aliquid iuris apud me, tamquam si convictor mihi fueris; recte enim et non temere feceris, quoniam id usus mihi tecum esse volui, si per valitudinem tuam fieri possit.' Et rursus: 'tui qualem habeam memoriam poteris ex Septimio quoque nostro audire; nam incidit ut illo coram fieret a me tui mentio. Neque enim si tu superbus amicitiam nostram sprevisti, ideo nos quoque *ἀνθυπερηφανοῦμεν*.' Praeterea saepe eum inter alios iocos purissimum penem et homuncionem lepidissimum appellat unaque et altera liberalitate locupletavit. Scripta quidem eius usque adeo

probavit mansuraque perpetuo opinatus est, ut non modo Saeculare carmen componendum iniunxerit, sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique privignorum suorum, eumque coegerit propter hoc tribus carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere; post sermones vero quosdam lectos nullam sui mentionem habitam ita sit questus: 'irasci me tibi scito, quod non in plerisque eius modi scriptis mecum potissimum loquaris. An vereris ne apud posteros infame tibi sit, quod videaris familiaris nobis esse?' expresseritque eclogam ad se cuius initium est: —

> cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,
> res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
> legibus emendes, in publica commoda peccem,
> si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar.

Habitu corporis fuit brevis atque obesus, qualis et a semet ipso in satiris describitur et ab Augusto hac epistula: 'pertulit ad me Oniscus libellum tuum, quem ego, ut excusantem, quantuluscumque est, boni consulo. Vereri autem mihi videris ne maiores libelli tui sint quam ipse es, sed tibi statura deest, corpusculum non deest. Itaque licebit in sextariolo scribas, quo circuitus voluminis tui sit ὀγκωδέστατος, sicut est ventriculi tui.' Vixit plurimum in secessu ruris sui Sabini aut Tiburtini domusque eius ostenditur circa Tiburni luculum. Venerunt in manus meas et elegi sub titulo eius et epistula prosa oratione quasi commendantis se Maecenati, sed utraque falsa puto; nam elegi vulgares, epistula etiam obscura, quo vitio minime tenebatur. Natus est vi. Idus Decembris L. Cotta et L. Torquato consulibus, decessit v. kal. Decembris C. Marcio Censorino et C. Asinio Gallo consulibus septimo et quinquagesimo anno, herede Augusto palam nuncupato, cum urgente vi valetudinis non sufficeret ad obsignandas testamenti tabulas. Humatus et conditus est extremis Esquiliis iuxta Maecenatis tumulum.

Q. HORATI FLACCI

# SERMONES

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### I

There is no reference to current events sufficiently definite to fix the date of this Satire by internal evidence. It was written after Horace's introduction to Maecenas in 38, and the maturity of style and treatment show a great advance upon the early Satires of this book, 2, 7, and 8. Obviously, it is introductory to the whole book, published in 35, and it was probably written shortly before that date.

'What is the source of the social discontent of our times? Not, certainly, as is sometimes said, in the peculiar hardships of this or that occupation. The very men who offer this explanation disprove it by their conduct. Nor can the persistent devotion of men to business be justified, as some of them appear to think, by the praiseworthy desire to provide against future needs. It is something deeper than this and less worthy — the mere desire to get rich, to be richer than others.

'A life given up to this pursuit is no better than the life of the miser of fiction. Such a man dares not spend anything, lest he spend all, and does not see that, to one who lives a natural life, the possession of what is never to be used is not a gain, but a burden.

'To say that social standing depends upon money is to say what is perhaps true, but is not to the point. For the result is the same; the man with such an ambition merely gathers wealth to tantalize himself, purchasing only terrors and unhappiness with it. He kills the natural affections, and spends his life in providing against contingencies that will, in all probability, never arise. I am not arguing that one should waste his money; that is only another extreme of folly; between the two lies the safe middle course.

'The source of our unhappiness, to answer the question with which I began, is the desire to be rich, to be a little richer. We forget the many who are poorer than we, and see only the few who are ahead of

us. We spend our lives in an ignoble struggle, and we come still unsatisfied to the end.

'Enough of sermonizing. I'm no Crispinus.'

The subject of this introductory satire is the race for wealth. In the universal peace which followed the civil wars, the financial affairs of the world centered at Rome as an imperial clearing house, and great fortunes were rapidly made by men of the capitalist class. In general, the old nobility and the philosophers and writers kept aloof from business, which consequently fell into the hands of the *equites*, who had had only a slight part in public affairs, or of the freedmen, who were ill-fitted by character and experience to make a large-minded or even a rational use of their money. Some of them burst out into ridiculous display, and furnished easy material for the satirist; others, with less obvious folly, knew no better use of their acquired wealth than to make it the means of acquiring still more. It is to men of the latter class that this discourse is addressed. For this is not pure satire, holding up the peculiarities of certain men to the scorn of others; it is, in part, a discourse, a sermon, addressed directly to the over-eager man of business, and intended to show to him, for his possible betterment, the intrinsic littleness of the occupation to which he was so ardently devoting himself.

Horace frequently employs in other places the thoughts and sometimes the figures and expressions of this satire. Compare especially the end of Epode 1, the main thought of Epode 2, and the whole of Epode 4. The similarity between the social structure of the Augustan Age and our own times could scarcely be made more vivid than it is by the fact that the satirist of that society chose for the theme of his opening satire the race for wealth.

Qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem
seu ratio dederit seu fors obiecerit, illa

1. **Qui fit**: *how does it happen?* But the interrogative form is merely a rhetorical way of introducing the general subject — the discontent of men — by beginning with its source. — **Maecenas**: the direct address serves to dedicate the first book of Satires to Horace's patron and friend. The dedication of the Odes is like this, a little formal and unconnected with the subject of the poem. The address to Maecenas in the first Epode is more natural and graceful. — **quam sortem . . . illa**: = *illa sorte . . . quam.* The word *sors* is used without thought of its original sense, as 'lot' is in English.

2. **ratio** and **fors** are often used together to cover the whole field of human life; everything is due either to deliberate *choice* or to

contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentis?
'O fortunati mercatores!' gravis annis
miles ait, multo iam fractus membra labore.
Contra mercator, navem iactantibus Austris,
'Militia est potior. Quid enim? Concurritur; horae

mere *chance*. The same contrast is implied in *Sat.* 1, 6, 54, though *ratio* is not actually used. The two verbs, *dederit*, *obiecerit*, carry on the contrast between the deliberate and the accidental.

3. **laudet**: the full expression of the thought would seem to require *sed unus quisque laudet*, but the negative of *nemo* goes only with *contentus*, not with *vivat*, so that the thought is 'every one is discontented with his own life and envious of the lives of others.' Cf. vs. 109, where the phrases *nemo se probet* (= *contentus vivat*) and *laudet* are connected by *ac potius*. The meaning of *laudare* is not precisely *to praise*, but 'to speak of with admiration,' as in Plaut. *Rud.* 523, *laudo fortunas tuas*, and in combination with *diversa sequentis* it suggests the idea of envy.

4–12. The two pairs of contrasted examples — soldier and sailor, lawyer and farmer — and indeed the whole scene which is half described, half suggested in vss. 15–22, come from the conventional popular philosophy, perhaps from some Greek burlesque drama. Horace uses them frequently with slight variations.

4–5. The first illustration is barely suggested, without specific details. *gravis annis* means, in ordinary usage, *weighed down with years*, not distinguishing between years of life and years of service, and the thought is repeated and amplified in the next phrase. — **fractus membra**: *broken in health*. The soldier, feeling old and worn, says, 'I wish I had gone into business.'

6–8. **mercator**: a merchant who sails his own vessel on a business venture, as the merchants in the China trade did a hundred years ago. He is therefore called, indifferently, either *mercator* or *nauta* (vs. 29), and the following lines deal only with the hardships of the sailor's life. — **iactantibus**: the tense is important; he is in the midst of a gale. — **Austris**: the southerly winds are heavy and squally in the Mediterranean, and Horace generally uses *Auster* with an implication of storm, as 'northeaster' is used in English. — **Quid enim?** simply *why?* or *why then?* *enim* was originally a strengthening particle, and before it had acquired the meaning *for*, it formed compound phrases with conjunctions and particles (*at enim*, *non*



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momento cita mors venit aut victoria laeta.'
Agricolam laudat iuris legumque peritus,
sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat.
Ille, datis vadibus qui rure extractus in urbem est,
solos felices viventis clamat in urbe.

*enim*, *quia enim*) in which the earlier meaning is preserved. There is no ellipsis here. — **Concurritur**: impersonal, expressing the brevity of the crisis in a soldier's life. — **horae momento**: the Romans did not measure short spaces of time with precision, and there is no Latin word for 'minute' or 'second.' *hora* is therefore somewhat vague, like the English 'the hour of victory'; cf. *puncto mobilis horae*, *Epist.* 2, 2, 172. — The second illustration is more detailed than the first, and the folly of the momentary desire to exchange occupations is more clearly suggested. The sailor's endurance is broken down by the long-continued storm, and he wishes for the short crisis of the soldier's life, forgetting alike the greater profits of a business career and the wearisome routine of garrison life.

9–10. **Agricolam laudat**: scarcely more than 'wishes he were a farmer.' — **ius** and **leges** are sometimes contrasted, — *e.g.*, as the general body of law and the special legislative enactments, — but here the two contrasting terms are used together to express one general idea. — **peritus**: the *patronus*, to whom friends and clients came at the early morning *salutatio* to ask advice on business and legal matters. There is a personal touch in this illustration, for Horace did not like to get up early (*ad quartam iaceo*, *Sat.* 1, 6, 122).

11–12. **Ille**: *the other*, the farmer, of the class whose unembarrassed life the lawyer has just been praising. He is not quite identified with the *consultor*. — **datis vadibus**: not necessarily bail in a criminal action, but surety for his appearance as defendant in any legal case. In this second pair of illustrations Horace allows the absurdity of the discontent to appear plainly and comically. The lawyer, in his momentary annoyance at being called early in the morning, wishes he were a farmer, forgetting that the farmer is habitually an early riser. The lack of serious consideration on the part of the countryman is shown by the suddenness of his conversion; he has been dragged (*extractus*) against his will into the city, but once there he loudly proclaims (*clamat*) not only that the city is better than the country, but even that city people are the only persons who are happy.

Cetera de genere hoc, adeo sunt multa, loquacem
delassare valent Fabium. Ne te morer, audi
quo rem deducam. Si quis deus, 'En ego,' dicat,
'iam faciam quod voltis: eris tu, qui modo miles,
mercator; tu, consultus modo, rusticus: hinc vos,
vos hinc mutatis discedite partibus. — Heia!
quid statis?' — nolint. Atqui licet esse beatis.
Quid causae est, merito quin illis Iuppiter ambas

13. **Cetera de genere hoc**: Horace was familiar with Lucretius (see notes on 23, 117–119) and uses this common Lucretian phrase to give to the passage a burlesque air of philosophizing.

14. **Fabium**: the scholiast says that he was a man in public life who had written some volumes on Stoic philosophy. It is characteristic of Horace to put his personal satire, which is not very frequent or very severe, into such light touches as this, given in passing and merely by way of illustration. Cf. the allusion to Crispinus below, vs. 120. And these humorous attentions are often bestowed upon the Stoics, whose formalism and austerity were repugnant to a man of Horace's temperament, and led him to overlook their good qualities. With all their superficial defects, they were the most serious religious teachers in Roman life. — **Ne te morer**: *not to delay you*, 'not to be too long about it'; a parenthetic clause of purpose.

15 f. **quo rem deducam**: 'what my point is going to be,' 'what conclusion I am going to reach.' — **Si quis deus . . . dicat**: the apodosis is in *nolint*, 19. The god is at this point indefinite, but, as the scene becomes clearer, he is definitely named, vs. 20. — **En ego**: *here I am;* to be taken closely with *faciam*. Both *ego* and *iam* are emphatic; 'here I am, *I* will do your business for you on the spot.'

18. **mutatis . . . partibus**: exactly like the English *parts* in a drama; cf. *partes* of a political party. — **Heia**: a colloquial exclamation of surprise and dissatisfaction, as if the god was annoyed that his friendly offices were not acceptable.

19. **beatis**: dat. after *esse*, as if *eis* had been expressed after *licet*.

20. **causae**: partitive gen. with a neut. pron.; very common in colloquial Latin, Plautus, Terence, Cicero's Letters, Catullus.

iratus buccas inflet, neque se fore posthac
tam facilem dicat, votis ut praebeat aurem?
Praeterea, ne sic, ut qui iocularia, ridens
percurram, (quamquam ridentem dicere verum
quid vetat? ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi
doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima;
sed tamen amoto quaeramus seria ludo;)
ille gravem duro terram qui vertit aratro,
perfidus hic caupo, miles, nautaeque per omne

21. buccas inflet: cf. Plaut. *Stichus*, 767, *age, iam infla buccas*, addressed to a flute player. *bucca* is a Low Latin word (French *bouche*), and the phrase is an intentional vulgarism to depict the burlesque expression of anger. — illis: dat. of disadvantage. The whole passage, 15–22, reads like a description of a *mimus*, in which a god suddenly appears upon the stage between the pairs of discontented men and, with bustling good nature, grants their wishes; then, as it appears at once from their looks that they do not really desire the change, his good nature changes to comic anger. From vss. 4 f., which are serious in expression and thought, to the final burlesque there is a gradual and skillful uncovering of the underlying absurdity of ascribing the discontent of men to their occupations or their lot in life.

23. Praeterea: a Lucretian word for passing to a new point. — ut qui iocularia: supply *percurrit*; 'like a writer for the comic papers.'

24. quamquam: *and yet*; corrective, not subordinating.

25. The kindergarten method of teaching children their letters by turning the work into play is alluded to by Quintilian (1, 1, 26), and Jerome advises a father to reward his daughter's efforts to learn to read by giving her *crustula*, *cookies*, and *mulsa*, *sweet drinks*. — olim: *sometimes*; a not uncommon meaning.

27. sed tamen: not exactly correlative to *quamquam*. The thought is twice reversed: "I will treat this matter seriously, not jokingly; and yet I might properly treat it jokingly, for a joke may sugar-coat a serious purpose, like the candies that teachers sometimes give to children; but, all the same (*tamen*), I prefer now to keep to my original plan and treat the matter seriously."

28. ille: demonstrative, to pair with *hic* below. — gravem duro: by way of emphasizing the severity of the labor.

29. perfidus . . . caupo: from

audaces mare qui currunt, hac mente laborem
sese ferre, senes ut in otia tuta recedant,
aiunt, cum sibi sint congesta cibaria : sicut
parvola (nam exemplo est) magni formica laboris
ore trahit quodcumque potest atque addit acervo,
quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri.

this point the thought turns more directly toward the main subject of the satire — money-making — and, in the review of the four types of discontented men from this point of view, the *iuris consultus*, who serves for honor rather than fees, is omitted, and the *caupo*, *huckster*, *innkeeper*, is substituted; as a man of the town, he makes a good contrast to the farmer. For variety, the order also is changed. — **perfidus**: people of the better classes seldom used inns in traveling (compare *Sat.* 1, 5), and the poor taverns frequented by slaves and laborers had a bad reputation for cheating and robbery.

30. **currunt**: this verb is used of sailing also in *Epist.* 1, 1, 45; 1, 11, 27 and perhaps in *Carm.* 1, 28, 36. Cf. 'run before the wind.' — **hac mente**: *this is their object*, emphatic by position and explained in the clause *ut . . . recedant*.

31–35. These lines contain the explanation which men give of their apparent inconsistency in continuing in occupations which they themselves complain of as dangerous or wearisome, and the words are carefully selected: *senes*, 'only when they are old'; *otia tuta*, 'freedom from labor and danger'; *recedant*, 'retire'; *congesta*, 'scraped together'; *cibaria*, *rations*, 'just enough to live on.' It is a reminder of the modernness of the Augustan Age that all these expressions find easy counterparts in the talk of men who are carrying the loads of life in our time.

32. **cum . . . sint**: subjunctive because it was a part of the indirectly quoted speech.

33. **parvola**: colloquial diminutive of *parvus*, to contrast with *magni*. — **exemplo**: dat.; 'for this is the pattern which they choose to follow.' — **magni . . . laboris**: *hard-working*. This genitive usually has a noun of general meaning with it (*animal*, *vir*), but the omission is not infrequent. The ant is occasionally referred to elsewhere in Latin literature as a model of industry (*e.g.* Verg. *Georg.* 1, 186), but the frequency of the comparison in modern literature is doubtless due to *Proverbs* 6, 6.

Quae, simul inversum contristat Aquarius annum,
non usquam prorepit et illis utitur ante
quaesitis sapiens; cum te neque fervidus aestus
demoveat lucro, neque hiems, ignis, mare, ferrum,
nil obstet tibi, dum ne sit te ditior alter.
Quid iuvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri
furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?

36. **Quae**: not exactly = *at ea*. The reply rather accepts the ant as a model, and criticises those who have chosen it as a model for not following their pattern closely enough. 'Yes, the ant is a good model, for it provides against a time of want and, when the time of want comes, it uses . . .' *sapiens*, 38, is thus an emphatic repetition of *haud ignara . . . futuri*. — **inversum**: the year is thought of as a circle, which turns back into itself, and this figure finds expression in many forms, περιτελλόμενος, *vertens*, *volvitur*. — **Aquarius**: the sign of the Zodiac which the sun enters in January, the severest part of the Italian winter.

37. **utitur**: the important word; it not merely gathers, but also *uses*.

38. **sapiens**: emphatic by its position at the end, where it is placed to make a strong contrast with *te* at the beginning of the next clause; 'like the philosopher it is; while *you* haven't even ordinary sense.'

39. **hiems . . . ferrum**: conventional obstacles. Cf. the variation in *Sat.* 2, 3, 54 ff., and the English 'to go through fire and water.'

40. **dum . . . alter**: 'as long as any other man is richer than you are.' Lit., *provided that no other*. With these words the true subject of the satire is reached, the foolish complaints and false pleas of discontented men having been pushed aside. At this point, too, the dialogue form and the direct address (*te*, *tibi*, *te*) become more distinct. Vss. 28–35, which contain the plea in defence, begin descriptively, then fall into informal indirect quotation, and close (*sicut parvola*) with what is in effect a direct quotation. And the reply, 36–40, in which the plea is shown to be false, continues and accentuates the directness of dialogue, and thus emphasizes the point toward which the discussion has been tending. The whole introduction, 1–40, is a good example of the manner of Horace.

41–42. These lines depict, with a heaping-up of epithets (*immensum*, *furtim*, *defossa*, *timidum*), the conventional figure of the miser, already familiar to Latin lit-

'Quod si comminuas, vilem redigatur ad assem.'
At ni id fit, quid habet pulchri constructus acervus?
Milia frumenti tua triverit area centum,

erature in the *Aulularia* of Plautus. The man of business in the Augustan Age had his investments and his varied money interests and no more buried his coin in a hole in the ground than the cautious investor of our time keeps his money in an old stocking. The verses really constitute an argument in the form of a suggested comparison: 'What is the good of it all to you? You're no better than a regular miser.'

43. **Quod**: usually taken to be the pron., = *at id*, as *quae*, 36, is taken. But it is, I think, the ordinary adversative *quod si*, which is freely used by Horace; cf. *Epist.* 1, 3, 25, *Epod.* 2, 39, and see examples in Kühner, II, 872. In this usage *quod* conj. has diverged only slightly from *quod* pron., and when a possible antecedent can be found before it (here *pondus*), it may easily be mistaken for the pron. But the thought is really general: 'but if you once begin the breaking-up process, your money is soon gone.' These words are not the reply of a real miser, but a perfectly sound maxim of prudence —'if you once begin to dip into your capital, it will soon be gone'; but it is misused by the man of acquisitive temperament to disguise to himself and to others his innate love of money. In answering (44–51) Horace does not stop to discriminate between the truth and the error, but strikes at the heart of the matter: 'the ultimate value of money is in its use, not in its acquisition.'

44. **At ni id fit**: *but if you don't do it*, that is, begin to use it. — **quid . . . pulchri**: the neut. gen. of the adj. with a neut. pron. instead of the abstract noun. Very common in colloquial Latin. — **acervus**: with a reminiscence of the ant, 34.

45–46. The figure is from Lucilius, 555 f. (Marx): —

milia ducentum frumenti tollis medimnum,
vini mille cadum.

— **triverit**: this should be called a fut. perf., to correspond to the fut. *capiet*, but in many uses of these forms the Latin did not make the sharp distinction between indic. and subj. which we make in our systematic grammar. The phrase is in paratactic relation to *capiet*, expressing a hypothetical concession; cf. 1, 3, 15; 1, 10, 64; 2, 6, 48, and many places in the Satires and Epistles. — **area**: so *teret area*, Verg. *Georg.* 1, 192, with a slight personification of the threshing floor.

non tuus hoc capiet venter plus ac meus; ut si
reticulum panis venalis inter onusto
forte vehas umero, nihilo plus accipias quam
qui nil portarit. Vel dic, quid referat intra
naturae finis viventi, iugera centum an
mille aret? 'At suave est ex magno tollere acervo.
Dum ex parvo nobis tantundem haurire relinquas,
cur tua plus laudes cumeris granaria nostris?

46. **hoc**: *on this account;* so I, 3, 93; I, 6, 110, and often, especially with comparatives. — **ut, si**: to be taken separately; *just as, if you should carry . . . you would receive. . . .*

47. **inter**: prepositions of two syllables are often placed after the noun in Horace.

48. **accipias**: pres.; when the train of slaves halts for the noonday lunch. — **portavit**: perf.; on the march, now past.

49. **intra naturae finis**: this limitation, a doctrine of Stoic philosophy, is necessary to the argument, which is directed, not against great fortunes in themselves, but against the accumulation of unused wealth.

50. **viventi**: with *rĕfert* the person interested is expressed by the gen. and no good parallel to this dat. is known. Yet the general sense is such that the dat. is perfectly intelligible.

51. **At suave . . . acervo**: the reply is not very effective and it is, in fact, scarcely more than an interjected remark: 'it's rather nice to have a large bank account to draw upon.' The argument in 52 ff. continues the thought of *intra naturae finis viventi*, with a side reference to *ex magno acervo.*

52. **tantundem**: 'as much as one would take from the great heap.' — **haurire**: properly of drawing off a liquid, used here in anticipation of the next illustration. — **relinquas** contains both the suggestion of 'leave to me in spite of your desire to get everything' and the meaning *concede, permit*, and in the latter sense takes the infin. *haurire.*

53. **cumeris granaria**: *cumerae* are described by the scholiast as small bins of wickerwork or large earthenware jars, used for storing small quantities of grain. The word is somewhat rare, but is used again by Horace (*Epist.* I, 7, 30) and was perhaps familiar to him from the management of his own small farm. It is, of course, set in contrast to the *granaria* of the large estate, and the sentence really repeats the idea of 45-46 and of 49–51.

ut tibi si sit opus liquidi non amplius urna,
vel cyatho, et dicas, 'Magno de flumine mallem
quam ex hoc fonticulo tantundem sumere.' Eo fit,
plenior ut si quos delectet copia iusto,
cum ripa simul avolsos ferat Aufidus acer;
at qui tantuli eget quanto est opus, is neque limo
turbatam haurit aquam, neque vitam amittit in undis.
At bona pars hominum, decepta cupidine falso,

54. **ut . . . si**: *just as if*, 'that is as if'; to be taken together, not like *ut si*, 46, where *ut* has its own verb. — **liquidi**: here, as in so many cases, Horace begins with the general and advances to the specific; *liquidi*, instead of *aquae*, gives a sense like 'something to drink.' So *magno de flumine* is general, *Aufidus*, 58, is specific. — **urna**: *a pitcher*, **cyatho**, *a glass*, the precise measurements not being in mind here.

55. **mallem**: *I should have preferred.* The man is thought of as standing near the little spring (notice *hoc*) and wishing, contrary to the fact, that he were near a river.

56. **fonticulo**: diminutive of contempt, to contrast with *magno*.

57. **plenior . . . iusto**: *more than he ought to have;* the whole sentence must be rendered freely. — **ut**: with *ferat*.

58. **cum ripa simul**: *bank and all.* The Aufidus, a rapid river in Horace's native Apulia, would undermine its banks in flood time and be turbid with mud.

59. The distinction here made between **eget**, *wants*, *desires*, and **opus est**, *needs*, is fundamental to the whole argument; it repeats *intra naturae fines*, 49 f., and is the opposite of *plenior si quos delectet*, 57.

60. **turbatam, vitam amittit**: these ideas merely carry the thought on into vivid details which make the folly of the device more evident, as, in the triumph of using a successful comparison in argument, one is easily tempted to carry it beyond the likeness. Horace does not mean that the money of the rich man was muddy or 'tainted'; that thought was not Roman; nor is he at this point thinking of the loss of real life in over-absorption in business.

61. **At**: to introduce the reply or counter-argument contained in vs. 62. — **bona pars**: like the English 'a good many.' — **cupidine**: masc., as always in Horace and sometimes in other writers.

'Nil satis est,' inquit, 'quia tanti quantum habeas sis.'
Quid facias illi? Iubeas miserum esse, libenter
quatenus id facit; ut quidam memoratur Athenis
sordidus ac dives, populi contemnere voces
sic solitus: 'Populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo
ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arca.'
Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat
flumina. . . . Quid rides? Mutato nomine, de te
fabula narratur; congestis undique saccis

62. From Lucilius, 1119 f. (Marx): —

aurum atque ambitio specimen virtutis utrique est:
tantum habeas, tantum ipse sies tantique habearis.

— **Nil satis est**: 'there is no such thing as the *enough* of which you speak.' This is a denial of the foundation of the preceding argument as expressed in vss. 49–51 and 59 f. — **sis**: subjv. of the indef. 2d pers.

63 f. **illi**: *for such a man*, individualizing the subject of *inquit*. — **Iubeas miserum esse**: *iubeo* is used to represent the impv. of the direct *miser esto*; so *iubeo valere* for the direct *vale*. — **quatenus**: always *since* in Horace. — 'The only thing one can do for a man so wrong-headed is to let him go his own way, since he will have it so (*libenter . . . facit*), though one may know that it leads to misery. He is as fixed in his error as the man in the Greek story, who, when he looked at his money bags, was indifferent to public opinion.'

65–66. **voces, sibilat**: the people on the streets hooted at him and hissed him. — **plaudo**: for the contrast with *sibilat*.

68. **Tantalus**: Horace follows here the Homeric version of the Tantalus story.

69 ff. **Quid rides?** he laughed because he did not think the old story had any bearing upon his own case. The reply is that the picture tallies exactly, that, with a change of name, it corresponds even in details. — **undique**: with *congestis*; 'which you have got together by raking and scraping everywhere.' — **indormis**: *sleep upon*; because he cannot be parted from them. Cf. Lucilius, 243–246 (Marx): —

cui neque iumentum est nec servus nec comes ullus:
bulgam, et quidquid habet nummorum, secum habet ipse,
cum bulga cenat, dormit, lavit, omnia in una
sunt homini bulga: bulga haec devincta lacerto est.

indormis inhians, et tamquam parcere sacris
cogeris, aut pictis tamquam gaudere tabellis.
Nescis quo valeat nummus, quem praebeat usum?
Panis ematur, holus, vini sextarius, adde
quis humana sibi doleat natura negatis.
An vigilare metu exanimem, noctesque diesque
formidare malos fures, incendia, servos,
ne te compilent fugientes, hoc iuvat? Horum
semper ego optarem pauperrimus esse bonorum.

— **inhians**: the involuntary physical sign of ardent desire. Such expressions sound exaggerated to us because in modern life we repress the signs of strong emotion. — **tamquam . . . sacris**: he can make no more use of them than if they were put out of his reach by being consecrated to the gods. — **pictis . . . tabellis**: 'the only pleasure you get from them is the pleasure of looking at them,' and that pleasure could be just as well enjoyed by looking at a picture of a pile of money as by looking at the money itself. These details, like those above, 41 f., must not be supposed to be descriptive; they are intended to make the complete devotion to business contemptible by dwelling upon the inherent likeness between the money-maker and the conventional figure of the miser.

73 ff. **quo valeat**: *what money is good for;* repeated in another form in *quem praebeat usum.* In harmony with the preceding thought the question here implied is answered both positively and negatively: 'money will buy the simple necessities of life (74–75), but you, by making it an object of pursuit in itself, are buying for yourself a life of constant anxiety and trouble' (76–78). — **quis**: *quibus;* with *negatis.* The comment of Porphyrio gives the sense correctly: 'non autem ea vult intellegi, quae ad delicias vitae pertinent, sed quae ad utilitatem, ut quae frigori aut fami repellendae et commodiori mansioni sunt necessaria aliaque similia.'

76 ff. The dangers of life in Rome are often alluded to; cf., *e.g.*, *Epist.* 2, 1, 121 f. and Catullus, 23, 8–10, on the freedom of the poor man from such terrors: —

nihil timetis,
non incendia, non graves ruinas,
non furta inpia, non dolos veneni.

— **compilent fugientes**: *plunder you and run away.* The *fugitivus* is a frequent figure in the pictures of ancient society, and the difficulty of recovering a runaway

80 At si condoluit temptatum frigore corpus,
aut alius casus lecto te adflixit, habes qui
adsideat, fomenta paret, medicum roget, ut te
suscitet ac gnatis reddat carisque propinquis.
Non uxor salvum te volt, non filius; omnes
85 vicini oderunt, noti, pueri atque puellae.
Miraris, cum tu argento post omnia ponas,

slave, in a population so miscellaneous, was very great. — **Horum**: emphatic, with *bonorum*; 'if these are what you call the good things of life, I wish I might always remain a poor man.'

**80 ff.** These lines are all addressed by Horace to his imagined interlocutor, the over-anxious man of business, the direct dialogue form being resumed only in vs. 101. But vss. 80–83 (beginning with *at*, the usual introduction to a counter-argument) contain in substance a reply to vss. 76–78. The thought is, 'You are dwelling too much upon the anxieties which my money brings and are forgetting its real benefits; for instance, its value in a time of illness.' — **temptatum**: almost a technical term of the attack of illness; *Epist.* 1, 6, 28. — **frigore**: the *chill* of malaria. — **corpus**: not *body*, but *health*, *strength*. Cf. *fractus membra*, vs. 5. — **adflixit**: *has dashed one down upon his bed.* — **adsideat, roget**: *sit by your bedside*, *call in*; ordinary, almost technical terms.

**84 ff.** The defence closes with a note of false pathos, — 'My money protects my life, which is precious to my family.' The reply of Horace, vss. 84–91, takes up this suggested point, passing by vss. 80–83 as, in reality, unimportant. 'Your life precious to your family! On the contrary, you are an object of universal dislike. Your pursuit of money not only makes no friends for you, but even checks the natural affections of your relatives.' — **non uxor**: the reply begins without an adversative particle; cf. 36, 52, and below, 102.

**85. vicini, noti** (*acquaintances*), **pueri atque puellae**: specific expansions of the general term *omnes*. Cf., on the last, *Sat.* 2, 3, 130, *insanum te omnes pueri clamentque puellae.* 'Without distinction of age or sex' (Greenough).

**86. post . . . ponas**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 92, *positum ante*; 1, 6, 58, *circum . . . vectari.* — **omnia**: obj. of *ponas.* — **ponas, praestet, merearis**: the subj. all hang together. They are not dependent upon *si*, for *miror si* takes the indic., but are more vaguely hypo-

si nemo praestet, quem non merearis, amorem ?
At si cognatos, nullo natura labore
quos tibi dat, retinere velis servareque amicos,
infelix operam perdas, ut si quis asellum
in campo doceat parentem currere frenis.
Denique sit finis quaerendi, cumque habeas plus,
pauperiem metuas minus, et finire laborem
incipias, parto quod avebas, ne facias quod

thetical, — 'do you wonder that no one should wish to give you . . . ? — **merearis**: not exactly *deserve*, but *earn*, *buy* (by giving love in return), an old sense of *mereor*.

**88–91.** Vss. 84–85 contain a bare statement of fact, without argument, and vss. 86–87 are an interjected remark ('it is quite just and natural'); the essence of the reply is in vss. 88–91, and *at*, the particle of retort, is therefore postponed to this point. The reply is, 'Why, on the contrary, instead of winning affection, you have so distorted your character that you would be incapable of retaining the love of your nearest relatives, if you should now choose to attempt it. You have made yourself a beast of burden, unfitted for the finer uses of life.' [A good summary of the arguments on this disputed passage may be found in Palmer's edition. The decisive reason, in my judgment, for rejecting *an* is that it is incompatible with the emphasis laid upon *operam perdas* by the comparison which follows.]

**89. retinere velis**: an expansion of *retineas*, to express more clearly the idea of choice. So *ponas*, 86, might have been *ponere velis*. — **amicos**: predicate.

**91. in campo**: in the Campus Martius, on the race track. — **parentem . . . frenis**: the heavier draught animals were driven with a goad; bits and reins were used only for racing or in driving for pleasure.

**92 ff.** A conclusion, driving home the lesson of the preceding arguments. — **plus**: the standard of comparison is left vague ('more than you once had,' 'more than most people') to balance *minus*, to which a standard ('less than you have done') is easily supplied.

**94. incipias**: ironically understating the case; 'take just one step toward reasonable moderation.' — **parto**: abl. abs. with the antecedent of *quod*. — **facias**: neutral, *fare*.

Vmmidius quidam. Non longa est fabula: dives,
ut metiretur nummos, ita sordidus, ut se
non umquam servo melius vestiret, ad usque
supremum tempus, ne se penuria victus
opprimeret, metuebat. At hunc liberta securi
divisit medium, fortissima Tyndaridarum.
'Quid mi igitur suades? ut vivam Naevius? aut sic

**95. Vmmidius**: the name does not occur in the extant fragments of Lucilius, but the story may well have been Lucilian. — **Non longa**: the details are therefore given with an appearance of haste; this motive leads also to the use of *dives* with an *ut*-clause of degree without *tam* (or *ita*, as with *sordidus*). Other instances occur in Horace, *Sat.* I, 5, 33; I, 7, 13; 2, 7, 10, etc.

**96. metiretur**: instead of counting them; proverbial of great wealth.

**98. supremum tempus**: *to the very last*, to the end of his life. — **victus**: gen.

**99. At**: *but* matters turned out very differently; after spending his life in providing against one danger, he met with a wholly unexpected end and had, as it were, wasted his life in misdirected prudence.

**100. divisit medium**: *chopped him in two*, an intentionally short and brutal way of putting it, followed, in order to brighten the sordidness of the story, by a burlesque allusion to a great tragic legend. — **fortissima Tyndaridarum**: *i.e.* as brave as any of the line of Tyndareus; with special reference to Clytemnestra, who killed Agamemnon with an ax.

**101 f.** The man of business has still one line of defence left, — 'Your reasoning, carried to its legimate conclusion, leads to sheer waste and the dissipation of property.' To which the answer is obvious, — 'Do not carry it so far; do not rush from one extreme to the other, but keep the wise middle course.' — **Naevius, Nomentanus**: these names are used as well-known representatives of a class — the spendthrifts. A Naevius is mentioned in *Sat.* 2, 2, 68 as a man who was too easy-going in his housekeeping, and this characteristic would fit well enough with carelessness in money matters. Of a L. Cassius Nomentanus, a contemporary of Sallust and notorious for his prodigality, Porphyrio gives a circumstantial account. Nomentanus is also a Lucilian character, and a Nomentanus, apparently a different one, is mentioned in *Sat.* 2, 8, 23, 25, 60. Precise identification is impossible.

ut Nomentanus?' Pergis pugnantia secum
frontibus adversis componere? Non ego, avarum
cum veto te fieri, vappam iubeo ac nebulonem.
Est inter Tanain quiddam socerumque Viselli.
Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.
Illuc, unde abii, redeo, qui nemo ut avarus

**102–104. Pergis:** often used without an interrogative particle in half-exclamatory sentences. — **pugnantia secum, frontibus adversis, componere:** these three expressions combine to suggest from different sides the figure of two gladiators, matched (*componere* is the technical word) against one another. So the argument of vss. 101 f. sets up the figure of the *vappa ac nebulo* to destroy the effect of the figure of the *avarus*, as described in the body of the satire.

**105.** The reference is probably to some Greek saying, then well enough known to make a mere allusion intelligible; at any rate, the names represent two widely separated extremes.

**107. ultra citraque:** the safe 'middle ground' is the only place where the right (ὀρθόν) can find a sure standing place.

**108 f. Illuc, unde abii, redeo:** this is not perfectly accurate. To return precisely to the opening question, 'What is the source of our discontent?' would be absurd, since the whole satire has been spent in setting forth the answer to that question. But a repetition of the text is a very suitable way of bringing the sermon to its conclusion. Horace therefore repeats the opening words (*qui nemo se probet = qui fit ut nemo contentus vivat*), attaching them somewhat forcedly to the leading clause *illuc redeo* and inserting the substance of the answer in the brief phrase *ut avarus*, which is taken up more fully in vss. 110 ff. The obscurity produced by using *qui nemo* instead of *qui fit ut nemo* and by making it depend upon *illuc redeo* is increased by the use of *ut avarus* (= 'because of the love of money'; cf. *ut male sanos*, *Epist.* 1, 19, 3; *ut capitis minor*, *Odes* 3, 5, 42), which is easily mistaken for a repetition of the *ut* in *qui fit ut*. The obscurity of the passage has led copyists into making various changes in the text, *nemo ut*, *nemon ut*. The true reading was found only in a single manuscript. 'I come back to my starting point, the discontent of men, which comes from their love of money and their envy.'

se probet ac potius laudet diversa sequentis,
quodque aliena capella gerat distentius uber,
tabescat, neque se maiori pauperiorum
turbae comparet, hunc atque hunc superare laboret.
Sic festinanti semper locupletior obstat,
ut, cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,
instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum
praeteritum temnens extremos inter euntem.
Inde fit, ut raro, qui se vixisse beatum
dicat, et, exacto contentus tempore, vita
cedat uti conviva satur, reperire queamus.

110. A mean and petty illustration is chosen intentionally.

112. **hunc atque hunc**: 'first one and then another.' The adversative idea, as often in Latin, is left unexpressed.

113. **Sic**: with *festinanti*; 'one who is in such haste to be rich.'

114 ff. The figure of the chariot race is used with a serious effect which suits the tone of vss. 111–119. It is a natural comparison, often used in Latin literature, and it is not necessary to suppose that this passage is either copied from or imitated in Vergil, *Georg.* 1, 512 ff.: —

Vt cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae,
addunt in spatia et frustra retinacula tendens
fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas.

The only similarity is in the use of technical terms. — **carceribus**: the stalls in which the chariots stood ready to be started (*missos*) by the raising of the barrier. — **rapit ungula**: so *quatit ungula*, Ennius, *Ann.* 224 Vahl., Verg. *Aen.* 8, 596, in the same place in the verse. — **illum**: *the one*. — **extremos inter**: cf. *venalis inter*, 47, n.

117–119. **Inde fit**: this also, like vs. 108, is a return to the beginning of the satire, *qui fit*, but with a more sober restraint (*raro* instead of *nemo*) and with an effective use of the figure of the satisfied feaster. This is another reminiscence of Lucretius, 3, 938: —

Cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis,
aequo animoque capis securam, stulte, quietem?

Compare also the closing lines of Bryant's *Thanatopsis*.

120 Iam satis est. Ne me Crispini scrinia lippi
compilasse putes, verbum non amplius addam.

120–121. It is thoroughly characteristic of Horace to turn abruptly from grave to gay, — *ridentem dicere verum*, — and the very abruptness of the change is often an effective enforcement of the moral. Several of the *Satires* will be found to close with a jest. Cf. also the close of some of the *Odes;* 1, 6; 2, 1; and especially 3, 3, *quo, musa, tendis.* — **Crispini**: said by Porphyrio to be Plotius Crispinus, a writer of much verse (cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 14) and a teacher of Stoic doctrines (*Sat.* 1, 3, 139; 2, 7, 45). — **scrinia**: cylindrical boxes in which the papyrus rolls were kept. — **lippi**: personal peculiarities or defects, of which we should think it discourteous to speak, were frequently matter for ridicule to the ancients.

## 2

This satire was written before 3, since the death of Tigellius, which is there (vs. 3 ff.) referred to as having occurred some time before, is here spoken of as a quite recent event, and before 4, where (in vs. 91) a line of this satire (vs. 27) is quoted. It is therefore to be placed in the group of early satires, with 7 and 8, written before the introduction to Maecenas in 39 or 38 B.C.

The announced subject of the satire is the tendency of men to run to extremes, their inability to keep to the golden mean. Of this tendency the first part, down to vs. 28, gives various illustrations, not lacking in humor and unobjectionable in tone. But the particular illustration which is treated in detail, and which occupies the rest of the satire, is excess in sensual indulgence, and especially the vice of adultery, which had become rife in the Ciceronian period and was still increasing in Roman society.

The satire betrays in various ways the immaturity of the writer. It is the most personal of Horace's writings; it is coarse in expression, and it is intentionally sensational in manner. These characteristics are in part the result of a too close adherence to the manner of Lucilius, in part of a desire to attract attention, in part of the bitter and rebellious feeling of the writer. Yet it is not difficult to find in it, as undoubtedly Vergil and Varius did, the indications of what the writer was later to become.

Ambubaiarum conlegia, pharmacopolae,
mendici, mimae, balatrones, hoc genus omne
maestum ac sollicitum est cantoris morte Tigelli:
quippe benignus erat. Contra hic, ne prodigus esse
dicatur metuens, inopi dare nolit amico,
frigus quo duramque famem propellere possit.
Hunc si perconteris, avi cur atque parentis
praeclaram ingrata stringat malus ingluvie rem,
omnia conductis coëmens obsonia nummis,
sordidus atque animi quod parvi nolit haberi,
respondet. Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis.
Fufidius vappae famam timet ac nebulonis,

1. **Ambubaiarum**: *flute-girls*, like the *copa Syrisca* of Vergil's poem, whose associations are called *conlegia*, *guilds*, with a touch of derision.

2. **mendici**: the organizations of begging priests. — **mimae**: women were not allowed to act in the more respectable dramas, but only in the farces called *mimi*. — **balatrones**: cf. the use of this name for a parasite as a proper name in *Sat.* 2, 8, 21 and 40.

3. **Tigelli**: see note on *Sat.* 1, 3, 4.

4. **benignus**: *kind*, *generous*; the word is used as if in quotation. — **hic**: *this other man*, the meaning being made plainer by *contra*.

7. **Hunc**: a third person, not the same as *hic*, 4. Whatever slight confusion is caused by the use of the same pronoun is dispelled by the next line, which shows that this man was a spendthrift.

8. **ingrata**: *unprofitable*, that gives no adequate return for the money spent upon it. — **stringat**: *strips*, as leaves from a tree.

9. **omnia . . . obsonia**: *all kinds of dainties*, everything that his appetite suggested. — **conductis**: *hired*, i.e. *borrowed* at interest.

10. **animi . . . parvi**: *mean*; the opposite of *benignus*, 4.

11. **his, illis**: *one side*, *the other side*, people who are of the same or of the opposite opinion.

12. **Fufidius**: a well-known family name, but the individual here referred to is unknown. He is a money-lender who combines in himself the extreme of great wealth — which he gets by discreditable methods — with the extreme of stinginess in the spending of money upon himself.

[dives agris, dives positis in faenore nummis];
quinas hic capiti mercedes exsecat, atque
quanto perditior quisque est, tanto acrius urget;
nomina sectatur modo sumpta veste virili
sub patribus duris tironum. 'Maxime' quis non
'Iuppiter!' exclamat, simul atque audivit? 'At in se
pro quaestu sumptum facit hic.' Vix credere possis
quam sibi non sit amicus, ita ut pater ille, Terenti
fabula quem miserum gnato vixisse fugato
inducit, non se peius cruciaverit atque hic.
Si quis nunc quaerat, 'Quo res haec pertinet?' illuc:

14. **quinas . . . mercedes**: the usual rate of interest was one per cent a month, but Fufidius collected five times this rate. — **capiti**: *from the principal.* — **exsecat**: the verb is chosen to express the severity of the demand; *cuts off* beforehand, as in discounting. In all such matters the methods of Roman business were less systematized than the banking of modern times.

15. **perditior**: *nearer to ruin.*

16 f. **nomina**: *names*, but with a suggestion of 'accounts,' as in English. — **tironum**: young men who had just put on the *toga virilis* and whose fathers still kept them on small allowances would be the natural prey of the unscrupulous money-lender.

19. **pro quaestu**: *in proportion to his gains*; the supposed exclamation of some one who hears of his great income. This suggests at once the strangeness of the contrast between his wealth and his meanness, which is carried out in the next phrase, *vix credere possis.*

20. **quam . . . non . . . amicus**: not exactly the same as *quam inimicus*, but 'how far he is from being kind to himself.' — **pater ille**: a father in the play of Terence, the *Heautontimorumenos* (*Self-tormentor*), who, because he thinks that his harshness has driven his son away from home, refuses himself all comforts until the son returns.

22. **inducit**: 'brings on the stage,' but used like a verb of saying with the infin. *vixisse; represents as having lived.* — **cruciaverit**: a repetition of the word *timorumenos*, in the title of the play.

23. **Quo . . . pertinet**: *what's the point of all this?* Cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 15 f., *quo rem deducam*, and *Sat.* 2, 7, 21. — **illuc**: the answer to the question, which is then explained in the next line.

dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt.
Malthinus tunicis demissis ambulat; est qui
inguen ad obscenum subductis usque facetus.
Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum.
Nil medium est. Sunt qui nolint tetigisse nisi illas,
quarum subsuta talos tegat instita veste;
contra alius nullam nisi olenti in fornice stantem.
Quidam notus homo cum exiret fornice, 'Macte
virtute esto,' inquit sententia dia Catonis.
'Nam simul ac venas inflavit taetra libido,
huc iuvenes aequum est descendere, non alienas
permolere uxores.' 'Nolim laudarier,' inquit,
'sic me,' mirator cunni Cupiennius albi.
Audire est operae pretium, procedere recte
qui moechos non voltis, ut omni parte laborent;
utque illis multo corrupta dolore voluptas

25–27. Two illustrations of excess, each described in a line, followed by two other extremes condensed into a single line. Vs. 27 is quoted in *Sat.* 1, 4, 92 as an example of jesting that is really harmless and in fact it is not likely that any of the names was meant to designate an individual.

29. **instita**: a border sewed on to the *stola* of the married woman, so that the garment came down to the ankles.

30. **contra alius**: cf. *contra hic*, 4.

31 f. **Macte virtute esto**: a colloquial phrase of approval; *well done! that's right.* — **sententia dia Catonis**: formal and epic; Lucilius, 1316 (Marx), has *Valeri sententia dia*, and Horace frequently uses this kind of periphrasis in parody of the heroic style, *e.g. Sat.* 2, 1, 72.

35. **laudarier**: the old form of the infin. pass., used also in 78 and 104 with intentional archaism.

36. **Cupiennius**: identified by the scholiast with a certain C. Cupiennius Libo, a friend of Augustus. But it is much more likely that the name is selected for its suggestion of *cupio*. — **albi**: of the white dress of married women, in contrast to the dark toga worn by prostitutes.

37 f. A parody of a line of Ennius (454 Vahl.), *audire est operae pretium, procedere recte* | *qui rem Romanam . . . voltis*, with emphatic insertion of *non*.

atque haec rara cadat dura inter saepe pericla.
Hic se praecipitem tecto dedit; ille flagellis
ad mortem caesus; fugiens hic decidit acrem
praedonum in turbam; dedit hic pro corpore nummos;
hunc perminxerunt calones; quin etiam illud
accidit, ut quidam testes caudamque salacem
demeteret ferro. 'Iure,' omnes; Galba negabat.
Tutior at quanto merx est in classe secunda,
libertinarum dico, Sallustius in quas
non minus insanit, quam qui moechatur. At hic si,
qua res, qua ratio suaderet quaque modeste
munifico esse licet, vellet bonus atque benignus
esse, daret quantum satis esset nec sibi damno
dedecorique foret. Verum hoc se amplectitur uno,
hoc amat et laudat, 'Matronam nullam ego tango.'
Vt quondam Marsaeus, amator Originis ille,

40. **rara**: with *haec* (*voluptas*) in a predicate use, contrasting with *saepe*. — **dura**: with *pericla*.

43. **pro corpore**: paid a ransom to save himself from the penalty which might have been inflicted on him.

46. **Galba**: this may be a reference to a known person, a jurist who is said by the scholiast to have been himself caught in adultery. This would explain the point of *negabat*; as a jurist he dissented from the general judgment. But the story of the scholiast may have started with *negabat*.

48. **Sallustius**: not the historian. It may have been his nephew and heir, but this is not easily reconciled with the fact that Horace addressed a friendly ode (*Carm.* 2, 2) to him.

50. **res, ratio**: the two leading motives for self-restraint, care for his property and good sense.

51. **licet**: the verb itself expresses by its meaning the shading which in *suaderet* is expressed by the mode. — **bonus atque benignus**: as if quoted from those who would receive the money. Cf. *benignus*, vs. 4.

53. **hoc . . . uno**: explained in the words *matronam . . . tango*.

55. **Originis**: said by the scholiast to have been a *mima* (cf. vs. 2) of Cicero's time. Marsaeus is unknown and this is therefore an apparent personality, which in reality refers to a long-past scandal.

qui patrium mimae donat fundumque laremque,
' Nil fuerit mi,' inquit, ' cum uxoribus unquam alienis.'
Verum est cum mimis, est cum meretricibus, unde
fama malum gravius quam res trahit. An tibi abunde
personam satis est, non illud, quidquid ubique
officit, evitare? Bonam deperdere famam,
rem patris oblimare, malum est ubicunque. Quid interest in matrona, ancilla peccesne togata?
Villius in Fausta Sullae gener, hoc miser uno
nomine deceptus, poenas dedit usque superque
quam satis est, pugnis caesus ferroque petitus,
exclusus fore, cum Longarenus foret intus.
Huic si mutonis verbis mala tanta videntis
diceret haec animus ' Quid vis tibi? Numquid ego a te
magno prognatum deposco consule cunnum
velatumque stola, mea cum conferbuit ira?'
quid responderet? ' Magno patre nata puella est.'
At quanto meliora monet pugnantiaque istis

**59. fama, res**: the same combination (in reversed order) that is used in *damno dedecorique*, vs. 52 f., to express from both sides the consequences of excess.

**60. personam**: the character, the rôle, of a *moechus*, contrasted with *illud . . . officit*, the results of excess, which come in any case (*ubique*).

**62. ubicunque**: repeating *ubique*; 'whatever *persona* you may assume.'

**63. togata**: cf. note on *albi*, 36.

**64–67.** This is also a reference to a scandal of Cicero's time. Fausta was the daughter of Sulla and the wife of Milo. Villius was one of her lovers, called *Sullae gener* in derision, and Longarenus was another lover. — **in Fausta**: *in the case of Fausta*, with the verbal phrase *poenas dedit*. — **hoc . . . uno**: abl. with *miser deceptus*, with *nomine* (*i.e.* the noble name Fausta) in apposition. — **fore**: abl. with *exclusus*.

**68–72. si . . . diceret**: the conclusion is *responderet*, 72.

**73. meliora . . . pugnantia**: after *monet*, the subject of which is *natura*. — **pugnantia istis**: 'opposite to what you have said,' *i.e.*

dives opis natura suae, tu si modo recte
dispensare velis ac non fugienda petendis
immiscere. Tuo vitio rerumne labores,
nil referre putas? Quare, ne paeniteat te,
desine matronas sectarier, unde laboris
plus haurire mali est quam ex re decerpere fructus.
Nec magis huic inter niveos viridisque lapillos,
sit licet hoc, Cerinthe, tuum, tenerum est femur aut crus
rectius, atque etiam melius persaepe togatae est.
Adde huc, quod mercem sine fucis gestat, aperte
quod venale habet ostendit, nec, si quid honesti est,
iactat habetque palam, quaerit quo turpia celet.
Regibus hic mos est: ubi equos mercantur, opertos
inspiciunt, ne, si facies, ut saepe, decora
molli fulta pede est, emptorem inducat hiantem,
quod pulchrae clunes, breve quod caput, ardua cervix.

to *magno patre . . . est.* Cf. *pugnantia secum*, *Sat.* 1, 1, 102.

74. **dives opis natura suae**: a doctrine of Epicurean philosophy, stated by Cicero, *de Fin.* 1, 13, 45 . . . 'ipsa natura divitias, quibus contenta sit, et parabiles et terminatas habet.' The figure is carried on in *dispensare*, 'to deal out' like a careful steward.

75. **fugienda petendis**: used again in *Sat.* 1, 3, 114, as equivalent to *bona diversis*.

76. **Tuo vitio rerumne**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 10, 57 f., *num illius*, *num rerum . . . natura*.

80-82. **huic**: the *matrona*; contrasted with *togatae*, 82. — **sit . . . tuum**: *although this may be your judgment*, *i.e.* that the adornment of the married woman adds to her attractions. Cerinthus is unknown.

84. **honesti**: used of physical charms for the contrast with *turpia*.

86-89. **opertos**: *i.e.* they cover those parts of the horse which by their beauty might attract the purchaser — *emptorem inducat* — the parts specified in vs. 89, in order to examine with the more coolness of judgment the parts which might be unsound, *molli . . . pede*. The custom, if there ever was such a custom, is not elsewhere alluded to.

Hoc illi recte : ne corporis optima Lyncei
contemplere oculis, Hypsaea caecior illa,
quae mala sunt, spectes. O crus ! O brachia ! Verum
depygis, nasuta, brevi latere ac pede longo est.
Matronae praeter faciem nil cernere possis,
cetera, ni Catia est, demissa veste tegentis.
Si interdicta petes, vallo circumdata, nam te
hoc facit insanum, multae tibi tum officient res,
custodes, lectica, ciniflones, parasitae,
ad talos stola demissa et circumdata palla,
plurima, quae invideant pure apparere tibi rem.
Altera, nil obstat : Cois tibi paene videre est
ut nudam, ne crure malo, ne sit pede turpi ;
metiri possis oculo latus. An tibi mavis
insidias fieri pretiumque avellier ante
quam mercem ostendi ? ' Leporem venator ut alta
in nive sectetur, positum sic tangere nolit,'

90 f. **Lyncei** : famous for his power of sight; cf. *Epist.* 1, 1, 28, *non pcs is oculo quantum contendere Lynceus.* — **ne . . . contemplere** : a parenthetic clause of purpose. — **Hypsaea** : unknown except by a note in the scholia, which does not really explain the allusion.

96 f. **vallo circumdata** : figurative, as an amplification of *interdicta*, and itself further amplified in vs. 98–100. — **facit insanum** : the fact that there are difficulties in the way.

98. The attendants of a great lady, either in the streets (*custodes*, *lectica* — with the bearers) or in her house (*ciniflones*, hairdressers, *parasitae*, at the table), which made it difficult to find her alone.

100. **invideant . . . apparere** : the construction is unusual, but it is found in Plautus, *e.g. Bacch.* 543. Cf. the infin. after *prohibere*.

101. **Altera** : without a verb, to give a conversational tone; the thought is easily filled out from *pure apparere* and from the rest of vs. 101. — **Cois**: abl. neuter. A transparent kind of silk made originally in the island of Cos.

105–108. **ut** : *how;* the clause depends upon *cantat*. These verses give the substance of an epigram of Callimachus (*Anth. Pal.*, xii,

cantat et apponit: 'Meus est amor huic similis; nam
transvolat in medio posita et fugientia captat.'
Hiscine versiculis speras tibi posse dolores
atque aestus curasque gravis e pectore pelli?
Nonne, cupidinibus statuat natura modum quem,
quid latura sibi, quid sit dolitura negatum,
quaerere plus prodest et inane abscindere soldo?
Num, tibi cum fauces urit sitis, aurea quaeris
pocula? Num esuriens fastidis omnia praeter
pavonem rhombumque? Tument tibi cum inguina, num, si
ancilla aut verna est praesto puer, impetus in quem
continuo fiat, malis tentigine rumpi?
Non ego: namque parabilem amo venerem facilemque.
Illam, 'Post paulo,' 'Sed pluris,' 'Si exierit vir,'
Gallis, hanc Philodemus ait sibi, quae neque magno
stet pretio neque cunctetur, cum est iussa venire.

102) in which the lover is compared to a hunter; the game that he prefers is that which costs him trouble in the pursuit and capture. — **apponit**: the point of the epigram is here added in direct quotation and in a very close paraphrase, almost a translation of the original. The comparison was probably common enough. Ovid (*Amor.* 2, 9, 9) has compressed the whole into a single line.

109–110. **versiculis**: 'do you think that such verses are a healing charm which will cure your troubles?'

111. **natura modum**: the same thought is in *Sat.* 1, 1, 49 f., 59, 73.

112. **dolitura negatum**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 75.

113. **inane**: the *void* or *space* of Epicurean physics, in which the *atoms* or *matter* (*solidum*) moved. But here figuratively, like the English *substance* and *shadow*; 'to distinguish the mere appearance from the reality.'

116. **pavonem rhombumque**: the fashion which dictated the use of certain fish or fowls as a part of every formal dinner is directly ridiculed in other satires, esp. *Sat.* 2, 2, 23 ff., and 48 ff.

120–122. A reference to an epigram of Philodemus, an Epicurean of Cicero's time. This particular

Candida rectaque sit, munda hactenus, ut neque longa
nec magis alba velit, quam dat natura, videri.
Haec ubi supposuit dextro corpus mihi laevum,
Ilia et Egeria est: do nomen quodlibet illi,
nec vereor, ne, dum futuo, vir rure recurrat,
ianua frangatur, latret canis, undique magno
pulsa domus strepitu resonet, vepallida lecto
desiliat mulier, miseram se conscia clamet,
cruribus haec metuat, doti deprensa, egomet mi.
Discincta tunica fugiendum est ac pede nudo,
ne nummi pereant aut puga aut denique fama.
Deprendi miserum est; Fabio vel iudice vincam.

epigram is not extant, but the construction reflects the colloquial tone; '"that one (the *matrona*) for the *Galli*, this one (the *libertina*) for me," says Philodemus.'

123. **munda**: *neat*, but with the suggestion that adornment may be carried too far. — **hactenus**: *only so far*.

129. **vepallida**: the prefix is here intensive, *very pale*; elsewhere it is negative, as in *vesanus* = *insanus*.

130. **conscia**: the slave-woman who was the accomplice.

134. **Fabio**: probably the Stoic philosopher referred to in *Sat.* 1, 1, 14. The Stoic doctrine was that no evil could befall the true philosopher. The point therefore is that the misfortune of being caught is so great that not even a Stoic, in spite of his doctrine, could deny that it was *miserum*.

## 3

The only indication of the date of this satire is the allusion in vs. 64, which implies a considerable degree of intimacy with Maecenas, to whom Horace was introduced in the year 38. In style and thought it is one of the more mature satires of the First Book.

'Musical people are odd. Look at Tigellius, a bundle of inconsistent absurdities. "Very fine," says some one, "but how about you, who criticize others with so much penetration? Are you faultless yourself?" "Not at all," answers the critic, "but, frankly, I don't think

my faults are as bad as his." No, you do not, and your self-satisfied attitude is a proper subject for a satire.

'Your habit of criticism brings its natural result, that others criticize you, and both you and they, seizing upon some trifling fault, fail to see the finer and nobler qualities and, still worse, make no effort to correct your own faults.

'I wish that we might rather be as blind to the faults of a friend as a lover is to the defects in the face of his mistress or, if see them we must, might treat them with the indulgent tenderness of a father toward his child, interpreting bluntness as frankness and a hot temper as only an excess of high spirit.

'But we follow just the opposite course and turn good qualities into faults, modesty into stupidity, prudence into trickiness. A fairer judgment would show us that virtues are more common than vices and would teach us to exchange pardon rather than censure.

'A reasonable philosophy for a world of faulty men should not be over-strict. To break a friendship for some trifling breach of good manners is to lose all sense of proportion between crime and penalty.

'The Stoics, to be sure, teach in their paradoxical way that all faults are sins and deserve the heaviest penalty. But this doctrine is repugnant to our best feelings and opposed to all that we know of the gradual evolution of the moral code. A real understanding of the source of our moral sense makes it unreasonable to punish the slightest error with death, as the Stoic says he would do, if he were king. "And how now, my Stoic friend? Wishing that you were king? I thought another of your Paradoxes proved that you are a king already." "No, no, you don't understand. That means a potential king, not a king *de facto*." "Potential? What's that?" "Why, like Hermogenes, who doesn't need to be singing all the time to prove that he's a singer. Even when he isn't singing, he's a potential singer. In the same way I'm a king, potentially." "Very well, I won't argue with you, but I don't think much of Your Majesty, hustled by street boys on your way to the cheap baths. I will remain a private citizen and forgive as I hope to be forgiven."'

It is not probable that the subject of this satire was suggested by any particular set of circumstances. Roman society was censorious, and Horace was himself an object of criticism, but this is neither a satire, in the proper sense, nor an argument in self-defence. It is a broadly human plea for generosity toward one's friends. The treatment of the Stoics is not to be taken seriously, and it would not be fair to press too far the obvious modern analogies.

Thackeray's Roundabout Paper called *On a Chalk-mark on the Door* is an excellent companion piece to this satire in its general tone and especially in the manner in which the subject is introduced.

Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus, inter amicos
ut numquam inducant animum cantare rogati,
iniussi numquam desistant. Sardus habebat
ille Tigellius hoc. Caesar, qui cogere posset,
si peteret per amicitiam patris atque suam, non
quicquam proficeret; si collibuisset, ab ovo

1–2. **vitium**: not *vice*, but *defect*, *fault*. — **rogati**: contrasted with *iniussi*, both predicate.

3. **Sardus**: with contemptuous emphasis. The Sardinians were in bad repute at Rome; cf. the saying, *Sardi venales, alter altero nequior*.

4. **Tigellius**: a musician of the Ciceronian period, several times alluded to in Cicero's letters and in the scholiasts. Cicero speaks of him always as Sardus Tigellius, but his name was Hermogenes Tigellius, and it is unlikely that Sardus was accepted by him as a cognomen. He was an acquaintance of many persons of prominence, Julius Caesar, Cleopatra, Cicero, and the younger Caesar, but not, apparently, on terms of equality. He had died shortly before the second satire was written. He is to be distinguished from another Hermogenes Tigellius, still alive, also a musician and probably a freedman or adopted son of the former. The tone of Horace toward the elder Tigellius is not hostile, though not respectful; toward the younger he is distinctly hostile (*Sat.* 1, 4, 72; 1, 10, 18, 80, 90). There are two places where the reference might be to either (1, 3, 129; 1, 9, 25). — **habebat . . . hoc**: *had this way, habit; hoc* does not refer grammatically to *vitium*. — **Caesar**: the young Octavius took this name immediately after the death of his great-uncle, in 44. The title Augustus was not given to him till 27. He is always referred to by Horace as Caesar, never as Octavianus, which could not be used in hexameter. — **qui cogere posset**: the words are not meant literally, but as a complimentary recognition of his position and influence.

5. **patris**: Julius Caesar, his adoptive father. — **si peteret**: a future condition, put into past time.

6. **collibuisset**: an impf. in force.

usque ad mala citaret 'Io Bacche!' modo summa
voce, modo hac resonat quae chordis quattuor ima.
Nil aequale homini fuit illi; saepe velut qui
currebat fugiens hostem, persaepe velut qui
Iunonis sacra ferret; habebat saepe ducentos,
saepe decem servos; modo reges atque tetrarchas,
omnia magna loquens, modo, 'Sit mihi mensa tripes et
concha salis puri et toga, quae defendere frigus,

**6–7. ab ovo usque ad mala**: eggs were a usual part of the preliminary *gustatio* (cf. *Sat.* 2, 4, 12), and fruit was served as a dessert at the end of the dinner.

**7–8. Io Bacche**: the opening words or the refrain of a drinking song. The final *e* should be short, but may be explained as having been lengthened in the song by its position at the end of a musical phrase. — **summa, ima**: the accompanying reference to the lyre shows that these words are used of the position of the strings, not of the tone. As the lyre was held, the bass string was uppermost. The Romans used *summus* and *imus* also of the tones of the voice in the same sense as the English *high* and *low*.

**9. aequale**: *consistent*.

**10.** The expression is somewhat condensed; in full it would be *saepe currebat velut qui fugiens hostem* (*curreret*), *persaepe* (*incedebat* or some similar verb) *velut qui . . . ferret*.

**11. Iunonis sacra**: the κανηφόροι, who in religious processions carried the offerings and sacred vessels in baskets on their heads and would naturally walk with dignity.

**11–12. ducentos . . . decem**: one number suggests domestic profusion, the other a quiet dignity; neither is to be interpreted literally. Horace himself, in speaking of the easy simplicity of his own life, says that he was waited on at supper by three slaves (*Sat.* 1, 6, 116).

**12. reges atque tetrarchas**: that is, at one time he talked of court life and Oriental monarchs, at another time his attitude was that of a true philosopher who had reduced his desires to the bare necessities.

**13–14. tripes, concha**: the Roman gentleman regarded a handsome dining table, supported upon a central pedestal, as necessary to a properly furnished dining room, and even poor people had a silver salt cellar; cf. *Carm.* 2, 16, 13 f., *Vivitur parvo bene cui paternum | splendet in mensa tenui salinum.* — **puri**: salt was sometimes perfumed or flavored.

quamvis crassa, queat.' Decies centena dedisses huic parco, paucis contento, quinque diebus nil erat in loculis. Noctes vigilabat ad ipsum mane, diem totum stertebat. Nil fuit umquam sic impar sibi. — Nunc aliquis dicat mihi: 'Quid tu? nullane habes vitia?' Immo alia et fortasse minora. Maenius absentem Novium cum carperet, 'Heus tu,' quidam ait, 'ignoras te, an ut ignotum dare nobis verba putas?' 'Egomet mi ignosco,' Maenius inquit.

15. **Deciens centena**: sc. *millia sestertium*, *a million sesterces*. — **dedisses**: a paratactic condition, without *si*. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 45.

16. **parco, paucis contento**: these words summarize the professions of Tigellius in 13–15. The substance of the passage therefore is: 'But if you had taken this ascetic philosopher at his word and given him a million or two, he would have turned spendthrift in a week.'

17. **erat**: the whole passage is a description of a man who had been dead some years, and all the tenses are past, impf., perf., plupf.; in present time it would have been *dederis . . . erit:* 'Suppose you gave him a million; a week afterward you look in his pocketbook — nothing there!'

18. **Nil**: the neuter is colloquial and more sweeping than the more exact masculine. Cf. Catullus, 9, 11, *quid me laetius est beatiusve?*

19. **impar sibi**: = (*in*)*aequale*, 9. — **Nunc**: *at this point* in the talk. — **aliquis, mihi**: merely the two conventional figures that Horace often employs to enliven his Satires with bits of dialogue. — **Quid tu?** *how about yourself?*

21–23. These verses repeat in brief, with the added point of a double pun, the essence of 1–20. Maenius corresponds to the critic, Novius to Tigellius, *heus tu* to *quid tu? ignoras . . . putas?* is a slight expansion of *nullane habes vitia?* and *egomet mi ignosco* is a neater variation upon *immo . . . minora*. The pun upon *ignotas*, *ignotum*, *ignosco* gains force from the double question: 'Which is it, Maenius, *igno-ras* or *ignotum?*' 'Neither,' says Maenius; 'it's *igno-sco*.' The scholiast gives a long account of a Maenius, but it has no point here, nor is it important to identify Novius with one of the persons mentioned in *Sat.* 1, 6, 121; the names are only more vivid substitutes for *aliquis* and *mihi*, vs. 19.

Stultus et improbus hic amor est, dignusque notari.
Cum tua pervideas oculis mala lippus inunctis,
cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum
quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius? At tibi contra

**24. hic amor**: *such satisfaction as this*, that is, as has been exhibited in the preceding verses. — **dignusque notari**: 'a proper subject for a satire.'

Verses 1–24 introduce the subject of the satire with an easy skill which Horace has nowhere surpassed. The passage reads like the talk of a group of men sitting about the fire at a club. There is no attempt to reproduce the exact form of dialogue, and the suggestion of dialogue in the introduction is intended only as an interpretation of the spirit of the passage. Some chance has brought up the oddities of musical people, of which Tigellius affords an excellent illustration. The mention of his name leads easily to the amusing and not ill-natured analysis of the character of this much-flattered and extravagant musical artist. But the characterization, though not really ill-natured, illustrates the inconsistency of censuring others for failings which we excuse in ourselves, an inconsistency which is even more clearly apparent in the Maenius–Novius anecdote, and which furnishes a subject for the satirist.

**25–27. mala**: stronger than *vitiis*, in the next line. — **lippus, inunctis**: there are frequent references to this inflammation of the eyelids and to the use of eye-salve (*Sat.* 1, 5, 30; *Epist.* 1, 1, 29); both the disease and the remedy obscured for the time the power of vision. — **aquila, serpens**: the eagle is still used in literature as a symbol of acuteness of sight; the attributing of the same quality to the serpent, common in Greek literature, was due to a supposed connection between δράκων and the stem of δέρκομαι, *to see*. — **Epidaurius** refers to the story of the bringing of a sacred serpent from the temple of Aesculapius in Epidaurus to Rome. This is the use, frequent in Horace, of the definite and particular for the general. — **pervideas**: taken by many editors to mean *examine sharply*, making an intentional oxymoron with *lippus*. But *pervidere* usually means only *to look at*, and is here contrasted with *cernis acutum*, as *mala* is with *vitiis* and *lippus inunctis* with *aquila* and *serpens*.

**27–28. contra, rursus**: *i.e.* when their turn comes. — **illi**: not referring precisely to *amicorum*, but more general, — 'when the criticized turn critics.'

evenit, inquirant vitia ut tua rursus et illi.
'Iracundior est paulo, minus aptus acutis
naribus horum hominum; rideri possit eo, quod
rusticius tonso toga defluit, et male laxus
in pede calceus haeret.' At est bonus, ut melior vir
non alius quisquam, at tibi amicus, at ingenium ingens
inculto latet hoc sub corpore. Denique te ipsum
concute, num qua tibi vitiorum inseverit olim
natura aut etiam consuetudo mala; namque
neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris.

29–30. A single fault in two forms, *iracundior*, *quick-tempered*, and *minus aptus . . .*, *impatient of criticism*, the general followed by the particular. — **acutis naribus**: from the instinctive turning up of the nostrils at a disagreeable odor. The phrase is a slightly inaccurate combination of the descriptive (*acutis*) with the figurative (*naribus*). — **horum**: *nowadays*, with a side-reference to literary criticism; cf. *Sat.* 1, 10, 67–71.

30–32. **rideri possit**: 'people may laugh at him,' *i.e.* he exposes himself to possible ridicule. — **tonso**: dat.; *sc. ei*. The two distinct criticisms are better expressed in English by two verbs: 'because his hair is cut by a country barber and his toga isn't properly creased.' — **defluit**: *hangs loose*, instead of being creased in folds across the chest. — **male**: with both *laxus* and *haeret*; *is loose and ill-fitting*. On these lines cf. *Epist.* 1, 1, 94 ff., and Quint. 11, 3, 137, 'et toga et calceus et capillus tam nimia cura quam neglegentia sunt reprendenda.'

34. **inculto . . . corpore**: *is hidden beneath this careless exterior*.

35. **concute**: from shaking the loose folds of the garments to see whether anything was concealed in them. Cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 646 f., *agedum, excutedum pallium . . . ne inter tunicas habeas*. The implied notion of searching governs the indirect question, *num . . . inseverit*. — **olim**: *once*, *i.e.* at your birth, with reference to *natura* only.

36–37. **consuetudo**: added as an after-thought, to remind the overcritical censor that he has not only faults which were inborn, but also faults which are due to his own carelessness. — **neglectis**: almost 'for if you are careless.' — **filix**: a common pest to the Italian farmer, which he got rid of by burning over the fields.

Illuc praevertamur: amatorem quod amicae
turpia decipiunt caecum vitia, aut etiam ipsa haec
delectant, veluti Balbinum polypus Hagnae:
vellem in amicitia sic erraremus, et isti
errori nomen virtus posuisset honestum.
At pater ut gnati, sic nos debemus amici
si quod sit vitium non fastidire; strabonem

38–54. 'As the lover finds in the defects of his mistress only added beauties, and as the father calls his boy by a pet name which minimizes his physical weaknesses, so we should try to see the better side of our friends' qualities.'

Horace is here strengthening his argument by appealing to two well-recognized traits. The blindness of the lover was a commonplace of philosophy (Plato, *Rep.* 5, 474 d; Lucretius, 4, 1160–1169; Ovid, *Ars Am.* 2, 657 ff.) and the giving of nicknames based upon physical peculiarities was so common among the Romans that most of their family names, including those used in this passage (*Paetus*, *Pullus*, *Varus*, *Scaurus*), are derived from this custom.

38. **Illuc praevertamur, quod**: *let us turn rather to this fact, that . . .*; *i.e.* 'let us prefer to imitate the lover's blindness.'

39. **decipiunt**: *are unnoticed by.* Cf. *fallere*, *latere*, with acc. of the person.

40. **Balbinum**: unknown. — **Hagnae**: (Ἄγνη) a common *libertina* name.

41. **vellem . . . erraremus**: *I wish that we made the same mistake;* the unfulfilled form of *velim . . . erremus;* there is no implied condition.

42. **virtus**: *ethics*, *ethical philosophy*. Cf. *Carm.* 2, 2, 17 ff., *Phraaten . . . numero beatorum eximit virtus.* — **honestum**: *creditable*, *honorable*. Though such blindness to obvious facts may be an error, yet it is so generous an error that philosophers, especially the Stoics, should have given it a name which would recognize its nobler side.

43–48. This passage cannot be exactly translated; modern English, in which physical deformities are ignored or relegated to the scientific vocabulary of surgeons, has no equivalents for *paetus*, *pullus*, *varus*, *scaurus*. Each of these words designates in an extenuating way deformities which are more broadly described by the corresponding words *strabo*, *male parvus* and *abortivus*, *distortis cruribus*, *pravis . . . talis*.

43. **At**: adversative to the main thought of 29 ff., not exclusively

appellat paetum pater, et pullum, male parvus
si cui filius est, ut abortivus fuit olim
Sisyphus; hunc varum distortis cruribus; illum
balbutit scaurum pravis fultum male talis.
Parcius hic vivit: frugi dicatur. Ineptus
et iactantior hic paulo est: concinnus amicis
postulat ut videatur. At est truculentior atque
plus aequo liber: simplex fortisque habeatur.
Caldior est: acris inter numeretur. Opinor
haec res et iungit, iunctos et servat amicos.

to what immediately precedes. The expression is somewhat condensed, for *ut pater gnati vitium non fastidit, sic nos debemus amici vitium non fastidire.*

47. **Sisyphus**: a dwarf kept by Antony.

48. **balbutit**: properly *lisps, i.e.* the father speaks the word *scaurus* in gentle tones, in a kind of baby talk, so that it is a pleasant nickname to the child.

49–54. These lines contain the application of the foregoing illustrations. Each of the four qualities mentioned may be regarded as a fault, but each has its good side, so that it may, upon a generous interpretation, be considered a virtue. The words which express the overcritical interpretation are in the comparative degree, as if to suggest that the faults are only exaggerations of good qualities.

49. **Parcius**: *too stingy.* — **frugi**: *economical,* 'careful in money matters.'

49–51. 'He sometimes thrusts himself forward too much (*iactantior*) and really makes an ass of himself (*ineptus*), but it is in the effort (*postulat*) to be entertaining.' The best commentary on these qualities is in Cicero, *de Orat.* 2, 4, 17, 'qui aut tempus quid postulet non videt aut plura (*too much*) loquitur aut se ostentat (= *iactantior*) . . . aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnus aut multus est, is ineptus dicitur.' This sense of *postulare, to expect, desire,* almost = *velle,* is common in Plautus and should have fuller treatment in the Lexicons.

51–52. 'Too much inclined to be overbearing, and more free in speech than he ought to be.' On its good side this quality should be regarded as merely frankness and fearlessness.

53. **Caldior**: = *calidior;* cf. *soldum, Sat.* 2, 5, 65; *hot-tempered.* — **acris**: *high-spirited.*

54. **haec res**: *i.e.* this way of treating the qualities of our friends, this generous interpretation.

At nos virtutes ipsas invertimus, atque
sincerum cupimus vas incrustare. Probus quis
nobiscum vivit, multum demissus homo: illi
tardo cognomen, pingui damus. Hic fugit omnis
insidias nullique malo latus obdit apertum,
cum genus hoc inter vitae versetur, ubi acris
invidia atque vigent ubi crimina: pro bene sano
ac non incauto, fictum astutumque vocamus.
Simplicior quis et est, qualem me saepe libenter
obtulerim tibi, Maecenas, ut forte legentem

**55–56.** 'But we follow a course exactly the opposite of this; instead of looking for the virtues which underlie faults, we seek for the faults that accompany virtues.' Of the two figures by which this is expressed, the first, *invertimus*, is quite general; the second is derived from the soiling of a clean (*sincerum*) jar by the incrustation deposited from sour wine. — **cupimus**: *i.e.* we find pleasure in it.

**56–58.** The opposed interpretations are expressed by pairs of adjectives, put together without a connective. — **Probus**: *honest;* **demissus**: *modest, quiet.* Cicero uses the two words together (*de Orat.* 2, 43, 182), contrasting them with *acres, pertinaces.* — **pingui**: somewhat stronger than *tardo.*

**58–62.** The *virtus* of these lines is less obvious than the preceding, and is therefore described more at length, before the point is reached in the pairs of contrasting adjectives. — **nulli malo**: masc. — **latus**: *flank*, the figure being from the military vocabulary. — **inter**: see note on 1, 1, 47. — **invidia, crimina**: many allusions in the *Satires* show that Horace was himself exposed to envy and criticism by reason of his friendship with Maecenas. — **sano, non incauto**: *a man of sense and not without prudence.* — **fictum**: *insincere;* cf. Cic. *Lael.* 8, 26, where *simulatus* is used as a parallel.

**63–66.** The quality here described, perhaps suggested by contrast with the 'prudence' of 58–62, is that single-mindedness and absence of self-consciousness which is at times a most engaging characteristic, but at other times may become annoying thoughtlessness. — **et**: connecting *simplicior* with *talis*, implied by *qualem.* — **libenter**: *in my eagerness;* it is essentially the same as *simplicior*, 'with my thoughts fixed too intently upon some one idea.' — **quovis sermone**: *with some unimportant remark*, not referring to *molestus ... caret.* — **Molestus**: *he's*

aut tacitum impellat quovis sermone: 'Molestus; communi sensu plane caret,' inquimus. Eheu, quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam! Nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur; optimus ille est qui minimis urgetur. Amicus dulcis, ut aequum est, cum mea compenset vitiis bona; pluribus hisce (si modo plura mihi bona sunt) inclinet, amari si volet; hac lege in trutina ponetur eadem. Qui ne tuberibus propriis offendat amicum postulat, ignoscet verrucis illius; aequum est peccatis veniam poscentem reddere rursus.

Denique, quatenus excidi penitus vitium irae,

*a nuisance.* — **communi sensu**: not 'common sense,' but *ordinary tact*, almost *common politeness;* cf. Seneca, *de Ben.* 1, 12, 3, *sit in beneficio sensus communis; tempus, locum observet.*

67. **temere**: *hastily, thoughtlessly*, not seeing that the law condemns ourselves also (*in nosmet*) and is unjust besides.

69. **urgetur**: *i.e.* has the smallest load of faults to carry. The thought suggests the figure of weights balanced in the scales, which is more elaborately worked out in the following lines; so *inseverit*, 35, suggests vs. 37.

70. **cum**: prep. governing *vitiis; will set my good qualities over against my faults.* Cf. Cic. *de Fin.* 2, 30, 97, *compensabatur cum summis doloribus laetitia.* — **hisce**: *i.e.* the *bona*.

71. **inclinet**: as if he were himself the scales.

72. **hac lege**: *on this condition.*

73–74. **tuberibus**: *wens;* larger than *verrucae, warts.* On the Roman freedom of speech about such defects, cf. 44 ff. and notes. — **postulat**: as in vs. 51.

75. **poscentem**: with the subj. of *reddere.* — **veniam**: obj. of *poscentem*, but to be supplied also with *reddere.*

76 ff. 'In short, since we are born with faults (68) which no philosophy can wholly eradicate, it is reasonable that we should recognize the difference between the lighter and the heavier, and should not condemn all with an equal severity.'

The figure of the scales (70–72), in which faults may be weighed against virtues, suggests the weighing of one fault against another, and this recalls the Stoic doctrine that all faults are alike in heinousness. Against this doc-

cetera item nequeunt stultis haerentia, cur non
ponderibus modulisque suis ratio utitur, ac res
ut quaeque est, ita suppliciis delicta coercet?
Si quis eum servum, patinam qui tollere iussus
semesos piscis tepidumque ligurrierit ius
in cruce suffigat, Labeone insanior inter
sanos dicatur. Quanto hoc furiosius atque
maius peccatum est: paulum deliquit amicus,

trine the rest of the satire is directed, at first with an assumed humility and an ironical seriousness, but finally with open parody and humor.

76. **vitium**: subj. of *nequit*, to be supplied from the next line. — **irae**: this particular fault, already mentioned in vss. 29 and 53, is singled out because Horace was conscious of the failings of his own temper.

77. **item**: this supplies the place of a connective between *vitium irae* and *cetera* (*vitia*). — **stultis**: the technical Stoic word for all men except the ideal *sapiens*; its use at this point gives a double meaning to *ratio* (78) — either 'the logical deductions of the Stoics' or 'the common sense of mankind' — and prepares the way for the more open attack in 96 ff.

79. **ut . . . ita**: do not try to render literally; 'make the penalty fit the crime.'

80–81. **tollere**: *remove* from the table at the end of the course. — **semesos**: the fragments left on the platter. — **tepidum**: already growing cold and unpalatable. These details are added to lighten the offense.

82. **in cruce**: the extreme penalty. But it is to be remembered that it had none of the associations now connected with it; it was oftener threatened than carried out, and is frequently alluded to in the humorous slang of Latin comedy. — **Labeone**: it is not clear whether this was a Labeo who was tribune in the year 131 or the Labeo who fought in the army of Brutus, or his son, a free-spoken opponent of Augustus. It is clear, however, that the allusion is not at all to some act of extreme cruelty or of serious misjudgment, but to some notorious extravagance of conduct which would be recalled with humorous appreciation by readers familiar with the gossip of Rome.

83. **Quanto . . . furiosius**: not, of course, to be taken seriously. — **hoc**: subj. of *est*, referring to what follows.

quod nisi concedas, habeare insuavis, acerbus:
odisti, et fugis, ut Rusonem debitor aeris,
qui nisi, cum tristes misero venere Kalendae,
mercedem aut nummos undeunde extricat, amaras
porrecto iugulo historias captivus ut audit.
Comminxit lectum potus, mensave catillum
Evandri manibus tritum deiecit; ob hanc rem,
aut positum ante mea quia pullum in parte catini
sustulit esuriens, minus hoc iucundus amicus

85. **quod nisi concedas**: *i.e.* a fault so trifling that only a man of the most irritable temper would take offense at it.

86–89. **odisti**: the construction is intentionally abrupt; in full it would be, 'but you, instead of pardoning the slight fault, turn your friendship into dislike and avoidance.' — **fugis, ut**: the natural conclusion would be 'as hard as you can,' but for this general comparison Horace substitutes a special allusion which has a point of its own. Ruso, unknown except from this reference, is a money-lender, keen in collecting his interest, but with a weakness for writing histories. His clever debtor, unable to meet his notes, pretends an interest in Ruso's writings and so gets easy terms from the flattered author. But the histories are so dull that to listen to them is as painful as to stand with outstretched neck awaiting the blow of the executioner, and Ruso's debtors therefore avoid him even more persistently than other debtors avoid their creditors. — **Kalendae**: the first of the month was one of the dates for collecting money. Cf. *Epod.* 2, 69 f. — **mercedem**: the interest; **nummos**: the principal. — **undeunde**: the duplication makes it indefinite; cf. *quisquis*, *utut*, etc. — **captivus ut**: *like a prisoner of war*, about to be executed.

91. **Evandri**: a king in the mythical time before the coming of Aeneas to Latium. — **manibus tritum**: the owner would point to the handle and remark that it had been worn smooth by the hands of the good king. The craze for collecting old pottery and bronzes and claiming for them a fabulous antiquity is ridiculed again in *Sat.* 2, 3, 20 ff.

92. **positum ante**: = *anteposi-tum*, *served.* — **mea in parte**: the food was served in a platter placed in the middle of the table and each guest helped himself, taking naturally that portion which was nearest to him.

93. **esuriens**: his hunger being

sit mihi? Quid faciam si furtum fecerit, aut si
95 prodiderit commissa fide sponsumve negarit?
Quis paria esse fere placuit peccata, laborant
cum ventum ad verum est; sensus moresque repugnant
atque ipsa utilitas, iusti prope mater et aequi.
Cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,

a partial excuse for the breach of etiquette. — **minus . . . mihi**: the same as *odisti et fugis*, 86.

94. **furtum fecerit**: as in the Twelve Tables, *furtum factum sit*.

95. **fide**: the old dative form. — **sponsum**: a promise made by the formal *sponsio*. As many business transactions were ratified only by oral formulas, without written evidence, the failure to keep a verbal promise in such matters was regarded as an especially serious crime.

96 ff. The Paradoxes of the Stoics were doctrines which, though they transcended ordinary experience, were held to express essential truths. There is a brief review of them in Cicero, *pro Mur.* 29, 60 ff., where the particular Paradox here discussed is stated thus: 'omnia peccata esse paria; omne delictum scelus esse nefarium, nec minus delinquere eum qui gallum gallinaceum, cum opus non fuerit, quam eum qui patrem suffocaverit.' Against this Horace sets the results of actual observation, enforced by a condensed history, from Epicurean philosophy, of the development of the ideas of right and wrong. The Stoic teaching is not unlike the Calvinistic doctrine of sin — that the sinfulness of an act lies in the violation of the law of God, the particular details or consequences being immaterial — while the attitude of Horace is that of the believers in evolutionary ethics.

96. **Quis**: the old dat. form for *quibus*. — **fere**: with *paria*. — **placuit**: technical; ἀρέσκει; transl. *those who hold*.

97. **ad verum**: 'to the test of actual experience.' — **sensus moresque**: so Cicero, *de Fin.* 4, 19, 55, arguing against this doctrine, says that *sensus cuiusque et natura rerum atque ipsa veritas* cry out against it.

98. **utilitas**: in the broader sense, 'the common good,' not individual advantage. The utilitarian philosophy has a prominent place in modern thought. — **prope**: qualifies the figurative *mater*; 'which may almost be called the mother of the sense of justice.'

99. The following account of the evolution of society is Epi-

mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter
unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
pugnabant armis, quae post fabricaverat usus,
donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,
nominaque invenere; dehinc absistere bello,
oppida coeperunt munire et ponere leges,
ne quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter.
Nam fuit ante Helenam cunnus taeterrima belli
causa; sed ignotis perierunt mortibus illi,
quos venerem incertam rapientis more ferarum
viribus editior caedebat, ut in grege taurus.
Iura inventa metu iniusti fateare necesse est,
tempora si fastosque velis evolvere mundi.

curean; compare Lucretius, 5, 780–1457. — **prorepserunt**: from the earth which gave them birth. — **animalia**: living creatures, but not yet men.

100. **mutum**: lacking the power of articulate speech. — **turpe**: still shapeless, not of human form. — **glandem atque cubilia**: food and shelter no better than that of animals.

101–102. **unguibus et pugnis, fustibus, armis**: various steps in a civilization to which we are still engaged in making contributions.

103–104. **verba**: ῥήματα, *verbs;* **nomina**: ὀνόματα, *nouns;* technical terms of grammar, somewhat less precise than the corresponding English words, together standing for the whole of speech. — **voces sensusque notarent**: 'might give meaning to their cries (*voces*) and express their feelings.'

106. **adulter**: it is a touch of sensationalism that leads Horace to select this particular sin for detailed illustration in the next four verses.

107. **ante Helenam**: cf. *Carm.* 4, 9, 25, *vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.* Recorded history is thought of as beginning with the Trojan war.

108. **sed ignotis**: emphatic by position at the beginning and in caesura; 'but we know nothing of all that went before.'

109. **incertam**: *promiscuous,* before the recognition of the institution of marriage.

110. **viribus editior**: *a stronger;* a very rare figurative use of *editus.*

111–112. A restatement of the point to be proved (*iura inventa*

Nec natura potest iusto secernere iniquum,
dividit ut bona diversis, fugienda petendis;
nec vincet ratio hoc, tantundem ut peccet idemque
qui teneros caules alieni fregerit horti,
et qui nocturnus sacra divom legerit. Adsit
regula, peccatis quae poenas irroget aequas,
ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello.
Nam, ut ferula caedas meritum maiora subire
verba, non vereor, cum dicas esse pares res

*metu iniusti = utilitas iusti mater*), which is now regarded as demonstrated to one who will read the history of the race (*si fastos velis evolvere*).

113–114. A conclusion from the preceding argument, which in a logical form would be introduced by *ergo:* 'there is therefore no natural instinct which distinguishes between right and wrong.' — **bona**: not in the moral sense, for that would contradict the whole argument, but *agreeable*, *pleasant*, further defined by *petendis*, as *diversis* (*their opposites*) is by *fugienda*.

115–117. A further conclusion: 'Therefore — since the distinction between right and wrong is neither innate nor absolute — there is no such thing as sin *per se*, but each error or fault must be judged separately, according to its effect upon the common advantage.' — **nec vincet ratio**: *nor will philosophy* (*i.e.* the Stoics) *succeed in proving*. — **tantundem**: quantitative; **idem**: qualitative; *in the same degree and kind* (Greenough). The two kinds of theft here named are said to have been specifically mentioned in the laws of Draco as deserving the same punishment. — **sacra legerit**: an old legal formula, preserved in the compound *sacrilegus*.

118. **regula**: *a scale*. — **aequas**: *just*, *fair*, proportioned to the offense.

119. **scutica**: *the whip*. — **flagello**: *the scourge*, a knout or cat-of-nine-tails, a much more dreadful instrument of punishment than the *scutica*.

120–124. **Nam**: 'we need a scale of sins which shall prevent you from inflicting too severe a penalty; for that you, a Stoic, with your overstrict laws, should inflict too light a penalty is highly improbable.' — **ferula**: *a cane*, such as was used by schoolmasters; substituted for *scutica* for variety. — **ut caedas . . . , non vereor**: the regular construction would be *ne caedas . . . , non vereor*, but the underlying thought

furta latrociniis, et magnis parva mineris
falce recisurum simili te, si tibi regnum
permittant homines. Si dives qui sapiens est,
et sutor bonus et solus formosus et est rex,
cur optas quod habes? 'Non nosti quid pater,' inquit,
'Chrysippus dicat: sapiens crepidas sibi numquam
nec soleas fecit, sutor tamen est sapiens.' Qui?

here does not call for a verb of fearing. Expressed without irony the verb would be *non verisimile est* or something like that, and the *ut*-clause conforms to the underlying thought and all the more easily because the *ut*-clause comes first. But Horace has substituted for the simple expression the ironical *vereor*, which in this connection ceases to be really a verb of fearing. — **pares res**: = *paria*, 96. — **magnis**: after *simili*; a condensed construction for *falce simili qua falce magna*. — **recisurum**: as a farmer prunes the vines. — **si tibi regnum . . .** : with *dicas*, 121, begins a quotation in indirect form of the purpose of the Stoic philosopher: 'I would do thus and so, if I had the power.' But the last thought is carelessly expressed in the common phrase, 'if I were king,' and Horace seizes upon this phrase to turn the rest of the satire into a humorous flouting of Stoic doctrine.

124–126. This Paradox is thus stated by Cicero, *pro Mur.* 29, 61: 'solos sapientes esse, si distortissimi, formosos, si mendicissimi, divites, si servitutem serviant, reges; and is referred to by Lucilius, 1225 f. (Marx). The fundamental truth which underlies the Paradox is that character makes the man, that character is the essential and circumstances are the accidents, a truth which Horace in other places (*e.g. Carm.* 2, 2, 17 ff.) fully recognizes; here it suits his purpose to ridicule the exaggerated form in which the doctrine was expressed.

127. **Chrysippus**: next to Zeno the chief of Stoic philosophers, called *pater* as a term of honor.

128. **sutor**: this particular illustration, which tends to make the whole doctrine ridiculous, was selected partly with reference to the story of Alfenus, 130, partly to illustrate the dogged persistence with which the Stoics defended their Paradox, even in its most extreme applications. — **Qui?** an exclamation of bewilderment: 'how is that? I don't see it.'

'Vt, quamvis tacet Hermogenes, cantor tamen atque
optimus est modulator; ut Alfenus vafer, omni
abiecto instrumento artis clausaque taberna,
sutor erat; sapiens operis sic optimus omnis
est opifex solus, sic rex.' Vellunt tibi barbam
lascivi pueri; quos tu nisi fuste coerces,
urgeris turba circum te stante miserque
rumperis et latras, magnorum maxime regum!

129–133. 'The ideal man, the *sapiens*, is potentially master of all arts and crafts, though he may not actually practice them, just as Hermogenes is a singer even when he is not singing.' — **Hermogenes**: see on vs. 4. — **modulator**: a more technical word than *cantor*. — **Alfenus**: apparently, as the scholiast says, the famous jurist (*vafer* is used of the law in *Sat.* 2, 2, 131) Alfenus Varus, consul in 39. He is said to have been in early life a cobbler at Cremona, and the argument of the Stoic is that he remained potentially a cobbler even after he became a great man. — **instrumento**: collectively; 'the tools of his trade.' — **sic**: '*in this sense*,' as Alfenus was potentially a shoemaker; not = *ergo*, *therefore*. — **solus**: the Stoic's argument, even if it be accepted at its best, does not prove that only the *sapiens* is an ideal craftsman; in fact, it proves just the contrary. But *solus* was used in the Paradox, and is therefore added by the Stoic in a triumphant tone, as if he had now proved his whole point.

133 ff. As often, Horace makes no direct answer to the argument, but turns to other matters which form in the end a most conclusive, though indirect, reply. 'Very well, you seem to have proved that you are a king, but appearances are against you, and certainly you are a very odd kind of king.' — **barbam, fuste**: philosophers of the stricter sect sometimes chose to distinguish themselves from other men by wearing a long beard (cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 35, *iussit sapientem pascere barbam*) and by carrying an old-fashioned staff. — **rumperis et latras**: *i.e.* 'make yourself hoarse with howling.' — This exaggerated use of *rumpere* was colloquial; cf. *Epist.* 1, 19, 15 and Plaut. *Capt.* 14. *latras* suggests the Cynic school (from κύων, *dog*), with which the Stoics were connected. — **magnorum maxime regum**: as if it were a formal title of respect, 'Your Most Gracious Majesty.'

Ne longum faciam, dum tu quadrante lavatum
rex ibis, neque te quisquam stipator ineptum
praeter Crispinum sectabitur, et mihi dulces
ignoscent, si quid peccaro stultus, amici,
inque vicem illorum patiar delicta libenter,
privatusque magis vivam te rege beatus.

137. **Ne longum faciam**: cf. *ne te morer*, *Sat.* 1, 1, 14. and the more abrupt *iam satis*, 1, 1, 120. — **quadrante**: one fourth of an *as*, the price of admission to the public baths.

138–139. **stipator**: *as an escort*. — **ineptum**: with *Crispinum*, who is called *lippus* and otherwise derided in 1, 1, 120 f. — **et**: correlated with *-que*, 141.

140. **stultus**: in the Stoic use of the word. — With these verses Horace returns to the serious thought of the earlier part of the satire, which is in fact latent in his mind even while he is ridiculing the Stoic solemnity and Pharisaism.

## 4

There is no reference in this satire which fixes the date precisely, and we are obliged to fall back upon general indications. The criticisms to which it is a reply were called forth by the sensational and personal tone of the early seventh and eighth satires, and especially of the second; in particular, vss. 91 ff. show that this was written after the second and, probably, very soon after it. Maecenas is not mentioned in this satire, as he is not referred to in the other earlier ones, though a personal mention would have been natural in 8, 8 and 14. Nor is there any reference to the group of distinguished friends whose approval is in the tenth satire the final answer to the critics. This satire may therefore with probability be placed with 2, 7 and 8 of this book and with some of the *Epodes*, all written before Horace's introduction to Maecenas in 38.

The reference to Tigellius (vs. 72) is too vague to give any indication of the date (cf. note on 1, 3, 4).

'The great Athenian writers of comedy were the founders of satire. After them came Lucilius, not less keen than they, but too careless and too profuse. His faults I desire to avoid, for mere quantity is not a merit; but the spirit of his satire I shall attempt to preserve. I am

aware, however, that exposure of the weaknesses of men makes my writings unpopular, and I desire to say a word in self-defence.

'In the first place, I do not think that satire is poetry or should be judged by the standards of poetry. It lacks the imaginative inspiration and the lofty expression of poetry, and is, in this respect, like comedy, a mere reproduction in verse-form of ordinary talk on everyday subjects.

'The main question, however, is whether the satirist deserves to be regarded with dislike and suspicion. You compare him to a detective, not noticing that you thereby compare yourself to a criminal, but the comparison fails because my notes are not taken for use in a court or for publication. You say that the satirist is a man of meanly critical spirit, who finds pleasure in exhibiting the failings of others. But this also is untrue; my satire is no more personal or serious than the raillery of a good talker at a dinner table. It is in fact only the exercise of a habit of observation taught me by my good father, who without knowing the philosophy of books instructed me in a practical philosophy founded on observation. The only fault you can find with me is that I write down my observations. But everybody nowadays writes; if you object to that, we'll unite to condemn you and the penalty shall be that you shall turn writer yourself.'

The connection of thought is less clearly indicated in this satire than in the first or third; there is occasional sharpness of retort and there is little of the mellow humor of the later work. These are the marks of immaturity. The sensitiveness to criticism, also, is of the kind that decreases with experience.

Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae,
atque alii, quorum comoedia prisca virorum est,
si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus ac fur,

1–2. The three most important writers of the Old Comedy (*prisca comoedia*), of whose works only the eleven plays of Aristophanes (444–388 B.C.) are extant. The names make a sonorous opening of the speech for the defendant. — **poetae**: to close the verse with emphasis; 'true poets, all of them.' — **virorum**: attracted into the relative clause and the genitive; cf. the corresponding verse, *Sat.* 1, 10, 16.

3. **dignus describi**: *deserved to be satirized*; cf. vs. 25, *culpari dignos*, and *Sat.* 1, 3, 24, *dignus . . . notari*. These are all various ways of saying, 'a suitable subject for satire.' — **malus ac fur**: the same as *malos fures*, *Sat.* 1,

quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui
famosus, multa cum libertate notabant.
Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus
mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque, facetus,
emunctae naris, durus componere versus.
Nam fuit hoc vitiosus: in hora saepe ducentos,
ut magnum, versus dictabat stans pede in uno;

1, 77, with no more difference than there is between 'rascals and thieves' and 'rascally thieves.'

5. **famosus**: in a bad sense, the common meaning in early Latin. — **libertate**: *with the utmost freedom of speech*. The extant plays of Aristophanes, in which public men are ridiculed with great license, abundantly support this statement.

6. **Hinc . . . pendet**: *upon them Lucilius is entirely dependent, i.e.* as the context shows, they were his predecessors and models in the open ridicule of individuals, his warrant for the use of personal satire. It does not mean that Roman satire, as a form of literature, was derived from or an imitation of Greek comedy. — **C. Lucilius**: see Introd. — **hosce**: = *hos*. In Plautus the forms in *-ce* are used only before vowels.

7. **mutatis . . . numeris**: Lucilius wrote partly in iambics and trochaics, but the verse which he used most frequently and which became the traditional verse for satire was the dactylic hexameter, which is not employed in the drama. — **tantum**: not to be taken too strictly, for Lucilius of course did not use the dramatic form. The emphasis here is upon the satirical spirit. — **facetus**: originally 'brilliant or polished in speech' (from *fa-ri*, *to speak*), and this is the meaning always in Plautus; cf. also *Sat.* 1, 10, 44, *molle atque facetum*, of Vergil's bucolic poetry. The meaning 'humorous,' 'facetious,' comes over into the adj. from the noun *facetiae*. It combines with *emunctae naris* to express the single idea 'keen in words and in thought,' 'sarcastic.' The same idea is expressed in *Sat.* 1, 10, 3 f., *sale multo urbem defricuit*.

9. **hoc**: *in this*, referring to what follows, which is at the same time an expansion of *durus componere versus*.

10. **ut magnum**: 'considering it a great feat.' — **stans . . . uno**: apparently a proverbial expression for doing something without effort, but it does not occur elsewhere; Quintilian, 12, 9, 18, *in his actionibus omni, ut agricolae dicunt, pede standum est*, seems to be a reference to the opposite idea.

cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles;
garrulus atque piger scribendi ferre laborem,
scribendi recte; nam ut multum, nil moror. — Ecce,
Crispinus minimo me provocat: 'Accipe, si vis,
accipiam tabulas; detur nobis locus, hora,
custodes; videamus uter plus scribere possit.'

11. **tollere**: *take out*, before using the water for drinking. The figure is that of a muddy stream; cf. the repetition in *Sat.* 1, 10, 50 f., *at dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem plura quidem tollenda relinquendis*, and the comment in Quintilian, 10, 1, 94, 'ego ab Horatio dissentio, qui Lucilium fluere lutulentum et esse aliquid quod tollere possis putat.' The scholiast thinks that *quod tollere velles* = *quod sumere optares*, but this is quite wrong.

12–13. **garrulus**: this must go back in agreement to 9–10, in spite of the verse between. It is a loose construction, but the whole passage is loosely hung together; *secutus* without *est*, *facetus*, *durus*, *vitiosus* with its own verb, *garrulus*, form a series of half-connected appendages to the noun, *Lucilius*. — **scribendi recte**: a corrective; 'of writing properly, I mean.' — **ut multum**: *sc. scripserit*. — **nil moror**: a common colloquialism, which usually means 'I don't care,' 'I don't bother about it.' The construction is properly acc. and infin., and the only way of explaining the *ut*-clause is to say that *nil moror* has here the meaning and construction of *concedo*; 'for that he wrote much, I grant with indifference.' — **Ecce**: the mere mention of writing much brings forward Crispinus at once with a boast.

14. **minimo**: this must mean *offers me heavy odds*, *i.e.* will accept a bet in which Horace puts up the smallest possible pledge. There is no precise parallel to this use of *minimo*, but cf. Sueton. *Iul.* 50, *amplissima praedia . . . minimo addixit*; Catull. 44, 4, *quovis Sabinum pignore esse contendunt*; Verg. *Ecl.* 3, 31, *tu dic, mecum quo pignore certes*. The scholiasts appear to know the expression: 'minimo provocare dicuntur hi qui in sponsione plus ipsi promittunt quam exigant ab adversario,' but the explanation that it is *minimo digito*, with a gesture, is a mere guess. — **Accipe**: *sc. tabulas*. — **si vis**: less formal than 'if you please'; often used in colloquial language of comedy in the shortened form *sis* to lessen the abruptness of the bare impv. Cf. *sodes*, *Sat.* 1, 9, 41 n., and the enclitic *-dum*.

15 f. **detur custodes**: arrangements for a formal contest, with supervisors.

Di bene fecerunt, inopis me quodque pusilli
finxerunt animi, raro et perpauca loquentis ;
at tu conclusas hircinis follibus auras,
usque laborantis dum ferrum molliat ignis,
ut mavis, imitare. Beatus Fannius, ultro
delatis capsis et imagine, cum mea nemo
scripta legat, volgo recitare timentis ob hanc rem,
quod sunt quos genus hoc minime iuvat, utpote pluris

17. **Di bene fecerunt**: not merely a statement, but a colloquial expression of gratitude; *Thank Heaven*. Cf. *bene facis, you're very kind;* Plaut. *Amph.* 937, *iam nunc irata non es?* || *non sum.* || *bene facis.* — **quodque**: *quod* introduces the whole clause, after the verb of emotion; *-que* connects *inopis* and *pusilli*, but is attached to a word between them; so 115, below, *vitatu quidque petitu; Sat.* 1, 6, 44, *cornua . . . vincatque tubas*, and often in Horace.

18. **loquentis**: agreeing grammatically with *animi*, but in sense with *me*. The transfer of epithets is common in the *Odes* (*e.g.* 1, 4, 6 f., *aspera nigris aequora ventis*), and the attraction of *loquentis* from *me* to *animi* is made easier by the frequent use of *animus* for the whole man (1, 2, 69, *diceret haec animus*).

19 ff. 'Go and be a pair of bellows, a mere wind-bag, as is evidently your preference.' — **ut mavis**: *as you in fact prefer*, not 'since you so choose.'

21 ff. **Fannius**: mentioned also in 1, 10, 80, with the adj. *ineptus*, as a follower of Hermogenes Tigellius, but otherwise unknown. There are five *scholia* attempting to explain the reference and the words *ultro . . . imagine*, but they are confused and only partially intelligible. The clause *cum . . . legat* contrasts the good fortune of Fannius with the unpopularity of Horace; *beatus* must therefore mean 'happy in his popularity' and *ultro . . . imagine* must contain a satirical reason for calling Fannius popular. The sense would then be 'The truly fortunate poet is neither Crispinus with his facile versification nor I with my satire, but Fannius; he *must* be popular, for he has of his own accord set up (in a public place, at the bookseller's?) his bookcases and portrait-bust, while, as to my writings, no one reads them.' But in addition to the obscurity of the allusions, the whole sentence is too condensed for clearness.

23 f. **timentis**: agreeing with the gen. implied in *mea*. — **genus hoc**: satire — **pluris**: acc., with *quos*.

culpari dignos. Quemvis media elige turba :
aut ob avaritiam aut misera ambitione laborat ;
hic nuptarum insanit amoribus, hic puerorum ;
hunc capit argenti splendor ; stupet Albius aere ;
hic mutat merces surgente a sole ad eum quo
vespertina tepet regio ; quin per mala praeceps
fertur, uti pulvis collectus turbine, ne quid
summa deperdat metuens aut ampliet ut rem.
Omnes hi metuunt versus, odere poetas.
'Faenum habet in cornu, longe fuge ; dummodo risum

**26 f. ob avaritiam . . . ambitione**: the variation in construction is intentional and is carried still further in the following lines — *hic . . . insanit, hunc capit, stupet* — until the last craze, the absorption in business, is reached ; this, as a most conspicuous and widespread folly, is given fuller description in 29–32. — **laborat**: a technical word, used of *suffering from* a chronic ailment.

**28. argenti splendor**: the craze for collecting silver plate was a common one in Rome, but Albius is a person of independent judgment who has a little special craze for bronzes. There are many references (*e.g. Epist.* 1, 6, 17) to both of these 'fads.' — **Albius**: unknown. He cannot well be the man whose son was used by Horace's father (below, vs. 109) to illustrate the folly of wastefulness. — **stupet**: so *torpes*, *Sat.* 2, 7, 95, in a colloquial slang, like the Engl. nouns 'fad,' 'craze,' 'rage.'

**29–32.** The idea of passionate absorption in some single interest, which is expressed above by the verbs *laborat*, *insanit*, *capit*, *stupet*, is in these lines suggested by the elaborate detail of the description. — **surgente, vespertina**: 'from the East to the West' ; the Romans felt a kind of wonder at the extent of their business enterprises. — **praeceps fertur**: as if by a force stronger than his own will. — **ne . . . deperdat, ampliet ut**: in the proper sense of *ut* and *ne* after a verb of fearing.

**33. versus, poetas**: an intentional exaggeration ; the dread of being satirized leads them to fear all poetry.

**34.** *quando feriunt boves, horum in cornibus ligatur faenum.* Schol. The saying happens not to occur elsewhere, but is given in Greek form by Plutarch, *Crass.* 7, Χόρτον ἔχειν φησὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ κέρατος. Cf. also *Epod.* 6, 11, *cave, cave ; namque in malos asperrimus parata tollo cornua.*

excutiat sibi, non hic cuiquam parcet amico;
et quodcumque semel chartis illeverit, omnis
gestiet a furno redeuntis scire lacuque
et pueros et anus.' Agedum, pauca accipe contra.
Primum ego me illorum, dederim quibus esse poetas,
excerpam numero; neque enim concludere versum

34–38. Two indictments against the satirist, that he finds pleasure in inflicting pain (cf. *laedere gaudes*, 78) and that he violates the decent reserves of social intercourse by publishing his strictures upon individuals (repeated in 82-85). — **risum excutiat**: *raise a laugh; excutere* is used of causing tears (Plaut. *Capt.* 419, Ter. *Heaut.* 167) and disgust (Plaut. *Merc.* 576). — **illeverit**: *has smeared, scrawled.* — **furno**: the poorer classes had their baking done in public ovens and got their water from the public pools (*lacu*). At these places crowds of slaves (*pueros*) and old women (*anus*) would be gathered. The whole involves a comparison: the satirist is no better than a scandalmonger, who retails his gossip to the meanest of the public.

39–62. In these lines Horace gives the earliest indication of that interest in the theory of poetry which appears more plainly in *Sat.* 1, 10 and 2, 1 and in the Epistles, and which culminated in the *Ars Poetica*. For various reasons the passage deserves special attention. It contains the observations of a conscious artist upon the art which he was practicing with success, and such observations are always interesting. At this period of his life Horace was writing both Satires and Epodes, and this passage reveals the effort that he was making to distinguish between the two forms and to assign to the Epodes those lyrical thoughts and emotions which he found incompatible with the conventional limitations placed upon satire by Lucilius. And, in themselves, the lines are an admirable illustration of the somewhat elusive and colloquial form of argument which Horace habitually employs. The sense, in brief, is this: 'Satire is verse, but not poetry, since it lacks the imaginative thought and the lofty expression which characterize true poetry and which remain even when the verse-form is destroyed.'

39. **poetas**: not attracted into the dative; cf. 1, 1, 19, *licet esse beatis*.

40. **concludere versum**: *to round out a verse.* Verse is conceived of as bound, as shut in within the limits of the metrical feet (cf. 1, 10, 59, *pedibus . . . claudere senis*), while prose is thought of as relaxed (*oratio soluta* is the technical term; cf. *dissolvas*, 55; *solvas*, 60, below).

dixeris esse satis, neque si quis scribat, uti nos,
sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poetam.
Ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinior atque os
magna sonaturum, des nominis huius honorem.
Idcirco quidam comoedia necne poema
esset quaesivere, quod acer spiritus ac vis
nec verbis nec rebus inest, nisi quod pede certo
differt sermoni, sermo merus. 'At pater ardens
saevit, quod meretrice nepos insanus amica
filius uxorem grandi cum dote recuset,
ebrius et, magnum quod dedecus, ambulet ante

42. **sermoni propiora**: *things more truly like conversation. Sermo* here and below, 48, is clearly defined by *Auct. ad Herenn.* 3, 13, 23, *sermo est oratio remissa et finitima* (= *propiora*) *cottidianae locutioni.*

43–44. **Ingenium, mens divinior**: not two distinct characteristics, but two ways of describing a single characteristic, *an inspired imagination.* — **os magna sonaturum**: *a noble style;* expressed in a figure retained from the time when the poet sang his own verses.

45. **quidam**: the students of literary form, like the Alexandrian grammarians. Cicero, *Orat.* 20, 67, also refers to this discussion. — **comoedia**: the Attic New Comedy or the comedy of Plautus and Terence; the rule would not apply to *Midsummer Night's Dream.* — **necne**: the prose order would be *quaesivere* (*utrum*) *comoedia poema esset necne;* cf. 63.

46. **acer spiritus ac vis**: *lively and vigorous inspiration;* the same thing as *mens divinior* and *os magna sonaturum*, but the expression is intentionally ambiguous, to give an opening for the objection which follows.

48–52. 'But there is certainly *acer spiritus ac vis* in the angry reproaches which a father in the comedies frequently addresses to a wayward son.' — **nepos**: *prodigal;* used as an adjective. — **meretrice . . . insanus amica**: *mad with passion for a harlot mistress; meretrice* also is used as an adj. with *amica.* — **ambulet ante noctem**: a reference to the *comissatio*, a wild procession through the streets after a drinking bout. To indulge in such a revel before night would be particularly disgraceful. The whole situation here is Greek.

noctem cum facibus.' Numquid Pomponius istis
audiret leviora, pater si viveret? Ergo
non satis est puris versum perscribere verbis,
quem si dissolvas, quivis stomachetur eodem
quo personatus pacto pater. His, ego quae nunc,
olim quae scripsit Lucilius, eripias si
tempora certa modosque, et quod prius ordine verbum est
posterius facias, praeponens ultima primis,
non, ut si solvas 'Postquam Discordia taetra
belli ferratos postis portasque refregit,'
invenias etiam disiecti membra poetae.

52. **Pomponius**: a name is used to point the retort, but it is quite unlikely that it refers to any definite person. — **istis**: 'the kind of talk you have just been describing.' — The argument is that the *acer spiritus ac vis* of comedy is merely the anger that any father in real life might express and is wholly different from the inspired imagination of the poet.

54. **puris . . . verbis**: *in plain everyday language;* the same as *sermo merus* and the opposite of *os magna sonaturum*.

56. **personatus . . . pater**: *the father on the stage*, the *pater ardens* of vs. 48. Masks (*personae*) were worn by actors in comedy in the time of Cicero. — **his**: neut., dat. after *eripias*.

58–59. **tempora certa modosque**: *the fixed quantities and rhythms* which make the hexameter. — **quod prius . . . primis**: *i.e.* change the words from the order demanded by the versification to the order of prose.

60–62. **non**: with *invenias*. — **etiam**: with *disiecti*. The true poet would be a poet still, even though torn limb from limb. There is a side reference to the story of Orpheus. — **Postquam . . . refregit**: a quotation from the *Annales* of Ennius; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7, 622, *belli ferratos rupit Saturnia postis*. The thought might have been expressed in plain prose by *postquam bellum coortum est;* for this unadorned statement the poet has substituted the imaginative figure of Discord bursting open the gates of Janus and in the brief description has used, almost to excess, words charged with poetic suggestion, *taetra, ferratos, postis portasque*. The two essential qualities of poetry, *mens divinior* and *os magna sonaturum*,

Hactenus haec : alias iustum sit necne poema,
nunc illud tantum quaeram, meritone tibi sit
suspectum genus hoc scribendi. Sulcius acer
ambulat et Caprius, rauci male cumque libellis,
magnus uterque timor latronibus ; at bene si quis
et vivat puris manibus, contemnat utrumque.
Vt sis tu similis Caeli Birrique latronum,
non ego sim Capri neque Sulci ; cur metuas me ?
Nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos,
quis manus insudet volgi Hermogenisque Tigelli :

would still remain, even though the verse-form were destroyed by changing the order of the words.

**63. alias**: *sc. quaeram*. This vague intention was never carried out, for the interest which Horace felt in satire came to an end with the publication of the Second Book in 30, and his later literary discussions deal with other forms of poetry. — **sit**: the subject is to be supplied from *genus hoc scribendi*.

**64–65. merito . . . suspectum**: *justly disliked, i.e.* 'whether your dislike (cf. vs. 33) is just.' — **tibi**: the satire had begun impersonally and the critics of satire are vaguely thought of (*sunt quos*, 24 ; *omnes hi*, 33), but from this point the critic is addressed directly and replies for himself ; the monologue becomes dialogue.

**65–66. Sulcius, Caprius**: detectives, who got their living out of the fines collected on evidence furnished by them. Such men were a necessary part of the Roman police system, but, like the *publicani*, they were held in ill repute and the implied comparison of the satirist to a detective was intentionally offensive. — **libellis**: *notebooks* in which the evidence was recorded.

**69. Vt sis tu**: *however true it may be that you are like a highwayman*. The honest citizen does not fear a detective, and the man who says that he dreads a satirist as he would a detective forgets that he is thereby comparing himself to a criminal.

**70 ff. sim, habeat**: 'I should not be like the detective, for my notes would not be published.' But the faint hypothetical shading passes over into the indic. *recito*. — **taberna**: *bookshop*, where books were apparently hung upon the posts (*pilae*, cf. *columnae*, *A. P.* 373) to be examined by purchasers, as second-hand books are now exposed for sale outside the bookshops. — **quis**: *quibus*. — **Tigelli**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 3,

nec recito cuiquam nisi amicis, idque coactus,
non ubivis coramve quibuslibet. In medio qui
scripta foro recitent sunt multi, quique lavantes:
suave locus voci resonat conclusus. Inanis
hoc iuvat, haud illud quaerentis, num sine sensu,
tempore num faciant alieno. 'Laedere gaudes,'
inquis, 'et hoc studio pravus facis.' Vnde petitum
hoc in me iacis? Est auctor quis denique eorum
vixi cum quibus? 'Absentem qui rodit, amicum

4 n. — The declaration that the Satires were not written for publication seems at first sight irreconcilable with the fact that this satire is itself a reply to criticisms based upon a knowledge of the earlier Satires, especially the second. But the method of multiplying copies by hand made it possible to limit the circulation of a poem, so that it might be somewhat widely read without being offered for sale or put into general circulation. The collection and publication of the whole book was evidently a later decision.

73. **recito**: the habit of giving private readings from one's own works became later so common as to be ridiculous, and Horace here recognizes its possible exaggerations. But Vergil read parts of the *Aeneid* to Augustus and others, and Ovid (*Tristia*, 4, 10, 49) was present at a reading given by Horace.

75 f. **lavantes**: in the public baths, where men were at leisure; but Horace attributes the choice of the location to the pleasure the reader had in hearing his voice reverberating from the arched ceiling (*locus . . . conclusus*).

76. **Inanis**: emphatic; men are fools to find pleasure in that.

78 f. **Laedere gaudes, studio**: the emphasis of this second accusation is upon the mean pleasure that the satirist finds in wounding the feelings of others. — **studio**: *intentionally*.

79–80. **Vnde . . . iacis?** *What is the source of this accusation that you are hurling at me?* This demand for his authority the critic meets indirectly by saying, in effect, 'I do not need to quote the testimony of others, for your own conduct — your criticism of your friends, your lack of decent reticence — proves that you are a deliberate defamer.'

81. **Absentem qui rodit**: *he who slanders a man behind his back.* — **amicum** goes with the following clause, as in all the other clauses a word or two precedes the relative.

qui non defendit, alio culpante, solutos
qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis,
fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere
qui nequit, hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.'
Saepe tribus lectis videas cenare quaternos,
e quibus unus amet quavis aspergere cunctos
praeter eum qui praebet aquam; post hunc quoque potus,
condita cum verax aperit praecordia Liber.
Hic tibi comis et urbanus liberque videtur,
infesto nigris; ego si risi, quod ineptus

82. **defendit**: the final syllable is long under the ictus. Both Horace and Vergil frequently preserve the original long vowel in perf. forms like *figīt*, *subiīt*, but the vowel of the pres. 3d sing., 3d conj., was not originally long, and this instance and *agīt* (*Sat.* 2, 3, 260) must be explained by false analogy. The few instances quoted from Plautus are doubtful.

84. **commissa tacere**: the Romans placed a peculiarly high valuation upon the ability to keep a secret; cf. *Epist.* 1, 18, 70, *nec retinent patulae commissa fideliter aures.*

85. **niger**: *black at heart.* So Catullus, 93, 2, says of Caesar, *nec (studeo) scire atrum sis albus an ater homo.* — **Romane**: *true Roman, i.e.* an honest gentleman. Such expressions of national pride are common; *echt Deutsch*, and, for the opposite, *un-English*, *un-American.* — **caveto**: formal in style, like an oracular utterance.

86. **tribus, quaternos**: the usual number was nine, three on each couch, and the motive for specifying an unusual number is not clear. Perhaps it is connected with the emphasis upon *unus*; 'if you go a little beyond the usual number of guests, you will find that you have included one, at least, who is witty at the expense of the rest.'

87 f. **aspergere**: *besprinkle* with personal jokes. The figure leads to the selection of the phrase *qui praebet aquam* (water for washing the hands) to designate the host.

88. **post**: adv. — **hunc**: *sc. aspergit.* — **potus**: absolute; cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 90.

89. An intentionally elaborate expression of the common idea *in vino veritas.*

90–93. 'Such conduct you consider, and rightly, mere friendly raillery; my little jokes, however, you are very ready to condemn.' — **infesto nigris**: *i.e.* 'you who call me *niger* in so hostile a tone.'

pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum,
lividus et mordax videor tibi? Mentio si qua
de Capitolini furtis iniecta Petilli
te coram fuerit, defendas, ut tuus est mos:
'Me Capitolinus convictore usus amicoque
a puero est, causaque mea permulta rogatus
fecit, et incolumis laetor quod vivit in urbe;
sed tamen admiror, quo pacto iudicium illud
fugerit.' Hic nigrae sucus loliginis, haec est
aerugo mera. Quod vitium procul afore chartis,

92. Quoted from *Sat.* 1, 2, 27. But it is quite unlikely that either of these persons, who were used to illustrate the extremes of foppishness and of neglect of cleanliness, is more than a mere name.

93 ff. An example of really malicious slander, to be distinguished from friendly banter, *comitas* and *libertas*. — **Mentio . . . iniecta**: *if some one happens to mention*. — **Petilli**: a Petillius was quaestor about 43 B.C. and was acquitted, apparently against the evidence, on a charge of peculation. The name Petillius Capitolinus is also found on coins. That the trial was well known and that the accused owed much to the skill of his lawyers is implied by the reference in *Sat.* 1, 10, 26 to the *dura causa Petilli*. But the further statement of the scholiast that Petillius had stolen the crown from the head of the Capitoline Jupiter is a mere confusion with a popular saying which is as old as Plautus (*Men.* 941, *Trin.* 83).

96. **convictore usus**: *I have been a frequent guest of Capitolinus;* cf. 1, 6, 47, where Horace calls himself a *convictor* of Maecenas. — This verse is hypermetric like 1, 6, 102, which also ends in an enclitic.

98. **incolumis . . . in urbe**: acquitted and not exiled.

99. **admiror**: in English the corresponding phrase would be 'but I can't help wondering how he managed to keep out of jail.'

100. **nigrae . . . loliginis**: *the black ink of the cuttlefish*, with transference of the adj. and a reference back to vs. 85. — **aerugo**: *verdigris*, copper rust, which was thought of as an eating poison. Together the two figures express the same quality as *lividus et mordax*, 93, and *niger*, 85, and the opposite of *comis et urbanus*, 90, just as in the preceding paragraph, 39–62, the qualities of poetry and prose are repeatedly defined and contrasted.

atque animo prius, ut si quid promittere de me
possum aliud vere, promitto. Liberius si
dixero quid, si forte iocosius, hoc mihi iuris
cum venia dabis: insuevit pater optimus hoc me,
ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quaeque notando.
Cum me hortaretur, parce frugaliter atque
viverem uti contentus eo quod mi ipse parasset:
'Nonne vides Albi ut male vivat filius utque
Baius inops? Magnum documentum ne patriam rem
perdere quis velit.' A turpi meretricis amore

102. **animo prius**: *i.e.* he will first of all keep malice out of his heart, and then it will certainly not appear in his writings. — **ut si quid ... promitto**: a colloquial confusion of *ut ... promittere possum* and *si quid promittere possum*; 'I promise this as surely as I can promise anything.'

103–106. 'Malice I promise to avoid, but a considerable freedom of speech and jest (*liberius, iocosius*, with a reference back to vs. 90) you must permit (*hoc iuris dabis*) and pardon (*cum venia*).' — **hoc me**: double acc. after *insuevit*, which is here a verb of teaching. *hoc* is not precisely *liberius dicere*, but the humorously observant attitude of mind of which a habit of friendly bantering may be the expression. The structure of 106 is somewhat involved; *notando* is the leading word, *vitiorum quaeque* depends upon it, *exemplis* is an abl. of means with it, and *ut fugerem* expresses its purpose. 'I owe my habit of observing the follies of men to my father; he used to point out all sorts of errors in concrete cases — in the conduct of individuals — in order to teach me to avoid them.'

107–108. The order is *uti parce atque frugaliter viverem*; the whole passage, 101–108, is somewhat confusedly written.

109. **Albi**: not the Albius of vs. 28. The point of the illustration — *ne patriam rem perdere quis velit* — would be spoiled if the father had wasted the property; *Albi filius* is the spendthrift son of a prosperous father, and so an excellent illustration (*magnum documentum*) of the conduct which Horace's prosperous father wished his own son to avoid. All these instances are reminiscences of Horace's boyhood (cf. 121) and the persons mentioned are unknown. — **male vivat**: *i.e.* in wretched poverty.

cum deterreret: 'Scetani dissimilis sis.'
Ne sequerer moechas, concessa cum venere uti
possem: 'Deprensi non bella est fama Treboni,'
aiebat. 'Sapiens, vitatu quidque petitu
sit melius, causas reddet tibi; mi satis est, si
traditum ab antiquis morem servare tuamque,
dum custodis eges, vitam famamque tueri
incolumem possum; simul ac duraverit aetas
membra animumque tuum, nabis sine cortice.' Sic me
formabat puerum dictis; et sive iubebat
ut facerem quid: 'Habes auctorem, quo facias hoc,'
unum ex iudicibus selectis obiciebat;

115. **Sapiens**: *a philosopher*, a teacher of the theory of ethics, in contrast with *mi*, 116, the practical instructor of youth. — **quidque**: *quid vitatu petituque;* cf. vs. 17 n. The two words express the *malum* and *bonum* of philosophy, as these ideas are expressed in *Sat.* 1, 3, 114, by *bona diversis, fugienda petendis.*

116. **causas reddet**: *will explain*, as a matter of theory.

118. **custodis, vitam famamque**: not only the character (*vitam*) but also the good name (*famam*) of a Roman boy of respectable family was carefully guarded up to the time when he assumed the *toga virilis*. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 6, 82 ff., *pudicum . . . servavit ab omni non solum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi*, where *facto* corresponds to *vitam* and *opprobrio* to *famam*.

121 f. **sive**: the apodosis is, grammatically, *obiciebat*, but this verb, preceded by the direct quotation, implies a verb of saying; 'when he advised a particular course of conduct, he used to say, "There is your example," pointing out . . . '— **ut facerem**: depending on *iubebat*. Horace elsewhere uses the infin. with *iubeo*, but the construction with *ut* is perfectly good Latin (Plautus, Cicero, Livy). [To supply *aliquid*, duplicating *quid*, and to make *ut facerem* depend on *obiciebat* or the supplied verb of saying, is to resort to an artificial construction in order to avoid supposing that Horace in a single instance uses a good Latin construction which he elsewhere avoids.]

123. **iudicibus selectis**: the panel of *special jurymen* selected by the *praetor urbanus* to act in criminal cases. They were likely to be citizens of character and standing.

sive vetabat: 'An hoc inhonestum et inutile factu
125 necne sit addubites, flagret rumore malo cum
hic atque ille?' Avidos vicinum funus ut aegros
exanimat, mortisque metu sibi parcere cogit,
sic teneros animos aliena opprobria saepe
absterrent vitiis. Ex hoc ego, sanus ab illis
130 perniciem quaecumque ferunt, mediocribus et quis
ignoscas vitiis teneor; fortassis et istinc
largiter abstulerit longa aetas, liber amicus,
consilium proprium: neque enim, cum lectulus aut me
porticus excepit, desum mihi. 'Rectius hoc est.'
135 'Hoc faciens vivam melius.' 'Sic dulcis amicis
occurram.' 'Hoc quidam non belle; numquid ego illi

**124 f. An**: introducing the main question, *addubites*. The indirect question is (*utrum*) *inhonestum sit necne;* cf. 45 and 60, notes. — **hoc**: some forbidden act.

**126 f. Avidos**: *gluttons*, in the literal sense, whom the sight of death reminds of the consequences of self-indulgence. — **sibi parcere**: 'to take some care of their own health.'

**129. Ex hoc**: *as a result of this*, of such training by his father.

**130 ff. quis ignoscas**: *pardonable;* there was no adj. *ignoscibilis* in use in the time of Horace. *quis* is a dative. — **et istinc**: *even from these, i.e.* the slight and pardonable faults. — **liber**: *frank;* cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 52.

**133 ff. consilium proprium**: 'my own reflections' (Palmer), based upon such observations as those which follow. — **neque enim**: takes up *consilium proprium* and expands it, thus providing for the return of the thought to the subject of satire. — **lectulus**: *reading couch.* — **porticus**: *the public colonnade*, a place which would give opportunity to observe the conduct of others who were strolling there. — **hoc, hoc, sic, hoc**: each refers to some act of another person which attracts his attention and serves as an example to be followed or a warning. — **quidam**: *so and so.* — **belle**: a colloquial word; 'not pretty conduct of so and so.' — **numquid**: suggesting a negative; 'I hope I shall not sometime (*olim*) when I am off my guard (*imprudens*) do anything like that.'

imprudens olim faciam simile?' Haec ego mecum
compressis agito labris; ubi quid datur oti,
illudo chartis. Hoc est mediocribus illis
ex vitiis unum; cui si concedere nolis,
multa poetarum veniet manus auxilio quae
sit mihi (nam multo plures sumus), ac veluti te
Iudaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.

137 f. **Haec agito**: *so I think to myself*, recurring to the thought of *neque . . . desum mihi* and *consilium proprium*. — **compressis . . . labris**: *i.e.* 'I say nothing at the time, but wait till I get home and then write it down.'

139. **illudo chartis**: cf. *chartis illeverit*, vs. 36. A jokingly apologetic way of describing the writing of satire. — **mediocribus**: referring back to vs. 130.

140. **concedere**: *pardon*; cf. 1, 3, 85.

141 f. **multa . . . manus, multo plures**: with joking exaggeration he says that the poets are in the majority and can compel the critics to join their party, as it is sometimes said now 'everybody writes novels.' But it was a fact that light verse writing was a frequent amusement of educated Romans — Pliny gives a long list of famous names — and that it was especially characteristic of the Augustan Age, when politics no longer offered a career.

143. **Iudaei**: the best commentary on this allusion is chap. 28 of Cicero's speech *pro Flacco*, in which he refers to the number and influence of the Jews in Rome (scis quanta sit manus, quanta concordia, quantum valeat in contionibus), to their religion (huic barbarae superstitioni) and their obstinate resistance to Roman ideals (istorum religio sacrorum a splendore huius imperii, gravitate nominis nostri, maiorum institutis abhorrebat). To a Roman, who admitted the gods of foreigners easily to his Pantheon, the desire of the Jew to make converts was wholly unintelligible.

## 5

The evidence for the date of this satire is found in vs. 27–29; Maecenas and Cocceius (L. Cocceius Nerva) were making the journey to Brundisium on an important mission, to reconcile friends who were at variance, a mission which they had performed before. The *aversi amici* (29) can be only the younger Caesar, and Antonius, whose re-

lations were never clearly defined and were in constant need of readjustment. In the year 40 B.C. an arrangement called the Treaty of Brundisium was made by Maecenas, representing Caesar, Asinius Pollio, representing Antonius, and Cocceius, as the friend of both sides. This explains *soliti componere* (29). In the following years, 39–38 B.C., Caesar was twice defeated by the fleet of Sextus Pompeius and was obliged to call upon Antonius for aid. Antonius came to Brundisium in the spring of 39, but Caesar did not meet him at that time, or, so far as is known, send representatives to a conference. But in the autumn of 38, the difficulties with Sextus Pompeius increasing, Maecenas was sent to Athens to confer with Antonius. With him went Fonteius Capito, as a friend of Antonius, and Cocceius, presumably to be a referee, as on the previous occasion, and the three ambassadors were accompanied on the overland journey to the port of Brundisium by a party of literary friends, Horace, Vergil, Plotius Tucca and Varius (the two friends to whom the publication of the *Aeneid* was intrusted after the death of Vergil), and a Greek rhetorician, Heliodorus. The satire was probably written soon after the date of the journey, late in 38 or early in 37.

The connection of thought is simple; the satire is a rather bare recital of the events of the journey, with some description of humorous episodes and adventures. The route can be easily followed on a map and the daily stages are for the most part indicated. But Horace was not writing a guidebook of the well-known route, and he has intentionally paraphrased the names of some places (24, 37, 45, 79 f., 87) and has used phrases which leave it uncertain whether the party spent a night at Anxur, at Capua, or at Beneventum. The journey was made partly on foot (though this is not certain), partly in a canal boat, but chiefly by riding or driving. The distance was about 340 English miles, the time from twelve to fifteen days.

The satire has a certain accidental interest from the glimpses it gives of the manner of traveling in the year 38 B.C., and it contains a few interesting personal allusions (27–29, 32–33, and especially 39–44), but it is for the most part made up of trivialities. It falls short to a surprising degree of the account which we should expect Horace to give of a fortnight's association with a group of men so cultivated and so eminent. There are two explanations of the limitations of the satire. In the first place, personal biography and reminiscence are modern; they had not made a place in ancient literature. The nearest approach to them would be in books like Caesar's Commentaries or Cicero's account of his consulship — both in reality political pamphlets — or in the

collection of Cicero's letters and of his witticisms. There are no true parallels in Latin literature to the many books of personal reminiscence which enrich modern literature. In the second place, Horace was deliberately attempting a very different task; he was writing a satire which was intended to be a close parallel to the similar description of a journey in the Third Book of Lucilius, and he has therefore been more closely bound by tradition in this satire than in any other. He was deliberately following a particular model and setting himself and his art in the closest possible comparison with the work of Lucilius. Unfortunately, the fragments of the satire of Lucilius are too scanty — about 50 verses, 98–147 in Marx — to enable us to follow the correspondence into details.

Egressum magna me accepit Aricia Roma
hospitio modico; rhetor comes Heliodorus,
Graecorum longe doctissimus; inde Forum Appi,
differtum nautis cauponibus atque malignis.
Hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altius ac nos
praecinctis unum; minus est gravis Appia tardis.

1. **magna**: in contrast with the small town of Aricia and its modest inn.

2. **hospitio**: the well-to-do Roman had friends or connections in many places by whom he was received as a guest (cf. 38, 50), so that he was rarely obliged to depend upon the public inns, and the inns were in consequence rather humble places of entertainment (cf. 71 ff.).

3. **longe doctissimus**: a humorous and not unfriendly superlative; cf. vss. 39 and 50. A considerable part of the humor of the satire is in the form of obvious exaggerations of discomforts (4, 7, 80, 88, 91, 95).

4. **nautis**: *boatmen*, employed upon the canal which ran through the Pomptine marshes from Forum Appi to Feronia. — **cauponibus . . . malignis**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 29. A propensity to dishonesty and stinginess is a traditional attribute of innkeepers.

5. **Hoc iter**: the stretch of nearly 40 English miles from Rome to Forum Appi. — **divisimus**: *i.e.* we made two day's journeys of it, stopping halfway at Aricia. — **altius . . . praecinctis**: cf. ἐΰζωνος and the scriptural phrase 'to gird up the loins'; the opposite of *ignavi* and *tardis*. The words, however, might be used figuratively of any energetic traveler and do not quite prove that this part of the journey was made on foot.

6. **tardis**: *to those who travel slowly*. But the point of the remark is not quite clear. As the

Hic ego propter aquam, quod erat deterrima, ventri
indico bellum, cenantis haud animo aequo
exspectans comites. Iam nox inducere terris
umbras et caelo diffundere signa parabat;
tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautae
ingerere: 'Huc appelle!' 'Trecentos inseris!' 'Ohe,
iam satis est!' Dum aes exigitur, dum mula ligatur,
tota abit hora; mali culices ranaeque palustres
avertunt somnos; absentem cantat amicam
multa prolutus vappa nauta atque viator
certatim; tandem fessus dormire viator

*via Appia* was one of the best of Roman roads, it seems necessary to take it as a general observation, carrying on the humorous confession of laziness in *ignavi*; 'traveling isn't so bad if you are not too energetic about it.'

**8. indico bellum**: parody of serious style. As the poor water had affected his digestion, he cut off the supplies, and his annoyance (*haud aequo animo*) at having to go without his dinner was increased by his being obliged to wait while Heliodorus and the slaves dined.

**9–10. Iam nox . . . parabat**: parody of the epic style; cf. 2, 6, 100 f., *iamque tenebat nox medium caeli spatium*, in the story of the Town Mouse and the Country Mouse.

**11. pueri**: the slaves of the embarking travelers.

**12. Huc appelle**: a cry from some slave on the bank, as the boat was picking up passengers from the various inns. The other shouts are complaints of overcrowding from the passengers already on board. — **Trecentos**: of a round number, like *sescenti*, *ducenti*, 1, 4, 9.

**14 ff.** The experiences of the night are told in a series of unconnected sentences, without comment, as things that speak for themselves. [I have omitted the indefensible *ut* in 15, which was inserted by a copyist who did not understand the *asyndeta*.]

**16 ff. nauta, viator**: 'nauta in navi, viator vero qui mulam ducebat.' Acro. This is certainly the correct explanation, since a canal boat requires a steersman (*nauta*), as well as a driver on the towpath (*viator*). The driver is the first to get tired; he stops for a nap and the steersman jumps ashore, ties up the mule, and lies down with him. [The note of Porphyrio, in which *viatores* refers to the passengers on the boat,

incipit, ac missae pastum retinacula mulae
nauta piger saxo religat stertitque supinus.
Iamque dies aderat, nil cum procedere lintrem
sentimus, donec cerebrosus prosilit unus
ac mulae nautaeque caput lumbosque saligno
fuste dolat; quarta vix demum exponimur hora.
Ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympha.
Milia tum pransi tria repimus, atque subimus
impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur.
Huc venturus erat Maecenas, optimus atque
Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque

is usually taken as the starting point of the explanation of this passage; wrongly, I think.] — **retinacula**: occurs only in plur.; *the halter*.

20 ff. **Iam . . . aderat . . . cum . . . sentimus**: a good example of *cum inversum*, in parody of the epic style (Rolfe). — The meter of vs. 22 is jokingly suggestive of the repeated blows. — **saligno fuste**: *i.e.* with a cudgel which he gets from the willows along the bank. — **dolat**: slang, like 'polishes off,' 'trims up.' *dolare* is a slang term in Plaut. (*M. G.*, 938, *Men.* 859), though in a slightly different sense. — **quarta . . . hora**: about ten o'clock. — **vix demum**: an expression of annoyance at the discomforts of travel, as the modern traveler recalls the lateness of his train; while vs. 24 is a reminiscence of the comfort of a bath and breakfast after a wretched night.

24. **Feronia**: a goddess whose temple and fountain were near the end of the canal.

25 f. **subimus**: the regular verb for going toward a high place; Anxur was an old city on the hill, Tarracina the newer town at the foot of the hill. — **late candentibus**: cf. *Epod.* 1, 29, *superni villa candens Tusculi* and Martial, 5, 1, 6, *candidus Anxur*. The cliffs are of white limestone.

27. **Huc venturus erat**: the official members of the party had perhaps been in conference with the younger Caesar at some country house in the neighborhood. The tense of *venturus erat* means 'it had been arranged that he should come.'

28. **Cocceius**: L. Cocceius Nerva, consul in 36 B.C., the great-grandfather of the emperor Nerva. See also the introduction to this satire.

legati, aversos soliti componere amicos.
Hic oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus
illinere. Interea Maecenas advenit atque
Cocceius, Capitoque simul Fonteius, ad unguem
factus homo, Antoni, non ut magis alter, amicus.
Fundos Aufidio Lusco praetore libenter
linquimus, insani ridentes praemia scribae,
praetextam et latum clavum prunaeque vatillum.
In Mamurrarum lassi deinde urbe manemus,

30 f. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 25 n. The mention of this personal trifle, like the allusions to other details, gives the effect of a diary, and this is heightened by the use of the 'historical' infinitive. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 9, 9–10, and 66.

32 f. **Capito**: C. Fonteius Capito, consul in 33 B.C., the representative of Antonius in the conference. — **ad unguem factus homo**: the figure is said to be taken from the habit of testing the smoothness of a surface by passing the edge of the thumb nail over it. The expression was proverbial, like the English 'a polished gentleman' or 'a man, every inch of him,' and there is an intentional courtesy in the compliment to the representative of Antonius. — **non ut magis alter**: so Nepos, *Epam.* 2, *eruditus sic ut nemo Thebanus magis*.

34–36. As the distinguished travelers passed through Fundi, they were met by the mayor of the town in his robes of office. — **Aufidio . . . praetore**: a formal expression, like *Caesare et Bibulo consulibus*, as if it fixed a date. It is not certain whether the chief magistrate of Fundi was properly called *praetor* or the word is used in derision. — **libenter**: the formal reception bored them. — **insani . . . scribae**: *i.e.* he had formerly been a clerk (cf. 66, below) and was too much elated by his rise in station. — **praetextam**: the toga with a purple border. — **latum clavum**: the purple stripe down the front of the tunic. — **prunae vatillum**: a pan or shovel of coals, for burning incense. The severity of this satirical allusion seems at first sight scarcely justifiable. Horace was, in fact, only a humble retainer of the great men to whom the honors were paid, and he was himself a *scriba*. But, like Thackeray, he had a keen eye for a snob.

37. **Mamurrarum urbe**: Formiae. Only one Mamurra is known to us, a knight of Formiae, who was *praefectus fabrum* (chief of engineers) under Julius Caesar, was enriched by him and

Murena praebente domum, Capitone culinam.
Postera lux oritur multo gratissima; namque
Plotius et Varius Sinuessae Vergiliusque
occurrunt, animae, qualis neque candidiores
terra tulit, neque quis me sit devinctior alter.
O qui complexus et gaudia quanta fuerunt!
Nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico.
Proxima Campano ponti quae villula tectum
praebuit, et parochi quae debent ligna salemque.

made an offensive display of his ill-gotten money. He was attacked with especial bitterness by Catullus and, apparently, on good grounds. Nothing is known of his family (the scholia describe a later condition of things), and it seems likely that the calling of Formiae by his name and the use of the plural, as if there were many distinguished persons of the family, are satirical touches.

38. **Murena**: L. Licinius Terentius Varro Murena, brother of Terentia, the wife of Maecenas. *Carm.* 2, 10 is addressed to him. He was put to death in 22 B.C. for conspiracy. — **praebente domum**: the implication is that he was not himself occupying the villa at this time.

40. Plotius Tucca and L. Varius Rufus were Vergil's literary executors, and Varius and Vergil were the friends who had introduced Horace to Maecenas (*Sat.* 1. 6, 53). Varius was very highly esteemed, perhaps beyond his merits, by his contemporaries as a writer of epic and of tragedy; he is mentioned by Horace more frequently than any other of his literary friends.

41. **qualis . . . candidiores**: the expression is perfectly logical — 'of which kind the earth has borne none fairer (than they)' — and it is used again in *Epod.* 5, 59 f.; *nardo . . . , quale non perfectius meae laborarint manus;* there is no similar idiom in English.

42. **tulit**: *brought forth.* — **quis**: dative.

44. **sanus**: *while I am in my senses;* so *Sat.* 1, 6, 89, *nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius.*

45 f. **quae villula**: *sc. est.* This was a public house, maintained by the government for the use of officials traveling on state business. The *parochi* (παρέχω) furnished the necessary supplies (*ligna salemque* are not to be taken quite literally, for Cicero, *ad Att.* 5, 16, 3, mentions also fodder), which were at this time designated by law; hence *quae debent.*

Hinc muli Capuae clitellas tempore ponunt.
Lusum it Maecenas, dormitum ego Vergiliusque;
namque pila lippis inimicum et ludere crudis.
Hinc nos Coccei recipit plenissima villa,
quae super est Caudi cauponas. Nunc mihi paucis
Sarmenti scurrae pugnam Messique Cicirri,
Musa, velim memores, et quo patre natus uterque

47. **Hinc**: *i.e.* starting from this point. — **tempore**: *in good season*, so that there was time for exercise before supper.

49. **lippis**: Horace; cf. vs. 30. — **crudis**: Vergil, of whom Donatus says, 'plerumque a stomacho et a faucibus ac dolore capitis laborabat.'

50. **plenissima**: *well-stocked.* So Cicero, *Cat. Maior*, 56, says 'semper enim boni assiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est, villaque tota locuples est, abundat porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle.' — **Caudi**: where the Romans were defeated by the Samnites in 321 B.C.

51–70. The custom of inviting semi-professional jesters to enliven the conversation of the dinner table, a custom which has prevailed more or less in all societies, is alluded to in many Roman writers from Plautus down. The jesters were of all degrees, from the buffoon or the mere butt of practical jokes to the more refined wit and story-teller. Examples of both kinds are mentioned in *Sat.* 2, 8, Porcius, who could eat whole cakes at a gulp, and Vibidius and Balatro, hangers-on of Maecenas and leaders of the joking, but not buffoons.

This passage is the record of a contest of wits between two such parasites. Sarmentus is described at some length in a scholium to Juvenal, 5, 3, and was evidently a well-known person; he had been a slave, was perhaps at this time a freedman, had become a *scriba*, and was small and somewhat effeminate in appearance. He represents the type of *scurra*, the more polished wit. Messius Cicirrus (κίκιρρος, a fighting-cock) is the clown, an Oscan, large and clumsy, with his face disfigured by a scar. He is a countryman, brought in for the occasion to be pitted against the city-bred Sarmentus, who was in the train of Maecenas, perhaps as a secretary.

53–55. **Musa**: in epic style. — **quo patre natus**: as in Homer, before two heroes engage in fight, the genealogy of each is recited. But in this case the heroic demand (*quo patre natus*) cannot be met; 'of Messius the glorious lineage is — Oscan; of the family

contulerit lites. Messi clarum genus Osci;
Sarmenti domina exstat: ab his maioribus orti
ad pugnam venere. Prior Sarmentus: 'Equi te
esse feri similem dico.' Ridemus, et ipse
Messius 'Accipio,' caput et movet. 'O, tua cornu
ni foret exsecto frons,' inquit, 'quid faceres, cum
sic mutilus minitaris?' At illi foeda cicatrix
saetosam laevi frontem turpaverat oris.
Campanum in morbum, in faciem permulta iocatus,
pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat;
nil illi larva aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis.
Multa Cicirrus ad haec: Donasset iamne catenam

of Sarmentus there survives only — his owner.' The Oscans were regarded by the Romans with special contempt, and a slave had, legally, no family.

56 f. **Equi . . . feri**: *a unicorn.* The comparison is suggested by the scar mentioned below, 60. This is clearly a variation on the verse of Lucilius, *dente adverso eminulo hic est | rinoceros* (Marx 117 f.), 'This is a rhinoceros with a tooth sticking out in front.'

58. **Accipio**: 'all right; so I am, and you will find me dangerous,' with a threatening shake of the head.

60. **sic**: both with *mutilus* and with *minitaris;* 'when, hornless as you are, you threaten so.' — **At**: explanatory, not adversative; *and, in fact.*

61. **laevi**: 'on the left side of his face.' [But the expression is awkward and the comparison to a unicorn and, below, to the Cyclops requires that the scar should have been in the middle; the text must be regarded as quite doubtful.]

62. **Campanum in morbum**: some disease, not understood even by the scholiasts, which was thought to be the cause of the scar. *Campanus* contains the same kind of slur as *Osci*, 54.

63. **saltaret . . Cyclopa**: *should play the Cyclops* in a pantomimic dance; accus. of the inner object.

64. **larva**: because he was so ugly and the scar would represent the one eye of the Cyclops. — **cothurnis**: because he was so big and clumsy.

65 ff. The account is shortened by giving the substance of the retorts of Cicirrus without comment. They turn upon the fact that Sarmentus had been a slave and upon his small size and effeminate ap-

ex voto Laribus, quaerebat; scriba quod esset,
nilo deterius dominae ius esse: rogabat
denique, cur umquam fugisset, cui satis una
farris libra foret, gracili sic tamque pusillo.
Prorsus iucunde cenam producimus illam.
Tendimus hinc recta Beneventum, ubi sedulus hospes
paene macros arsit dum turdos versat in igni;
nam vaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinam
Volcano summum properabat lambere tectum.
Convivas avidos cenam servosque timentis
tum rapere, atque omnis restinguere velle videres.
Incipit ex illo montis Apulia notos
ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus, et quos

pearance. — **ex voto**: as gladiators at the end of their professional career dedicated their arms (*Epist.* 1, 1, 4 f.) or as men who had escaped from shipwreck hung up their dripping garments in a temple (*Carm.* 1, 5, 13–16), so a slave who had escaped from slavery — perhaps by running away — might dedicate his chains to the gods who had helped him. — **scriba**: the emphatic position shows what the point is; 'even though you have attained to the lofty position of a clerk, still . . . ' — **una farris libra**: the ordinary ration was four or five pounds and such a puny little man might have lived on a quarter of his allowance and bought his freedom with his savings, instead of running away.

70. **Prorsus**: with *iucunde*; 'certainly it was a jolly supper . . . So *prorsus vehementer*, Cic. *ad Att.* 16, 15, 2; *prorsus valde*, *ad Fam.* 6, 20, 2.

72. **paene . . . arsit**: *almost set his house afire.* So Verg. *Aen.* 2, 311 f., *ardet Vcalegon.* — **macros**: with *turdos* and *dum* with *versat*. It is possible that the confused order is meant to represent the confused efforts of the anxious landlord.

73–74. **vaga . . . veterem . . . Volcano**: parody of the alliteration in the epic style of Ennius. — **dilapso . . . Volcano**: the logs which were piled together on the raised hearth fell apart and were scattered on the floor.

76. **videres**: 'then there was a pretty spectacle for you to see, of hungry guests and frightened slaves.'

78. **mihi**: they were approaching the region of Venusia, where Horace had passed his boyhood,

numquam erepsemus, nisi nos vicina Trivici
villa recepisset, lacrimoso non sine fumo,
udos cum foliis ramos urente camino.
Quattuor hinc rapimur viginti et milia raedis,
mansuri oppidulo quod versu dicere non est,
signis perfacile est: venit vilissima rerum
hic aqua; sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra

and he began to recognize well-known landmarks. — **Atabulus**: a name for the *sirocco*, peculiar to Apulia and recalled by Horace as he approaches his old home. Gellius (2, 22, 25) calls it *Horatianus ille Atabulus*.

79. **erepsemus**: *erepsissemus*; such colloquial forms are used freely in the Satires, *e.g.*, *surrexe* for *surrexisse*, 1, 9, 73. — **nisi**: the expression is somewhat condensed, perhaps with humorous intention; 'we should never have crawled out, if we hadn't stopped,' meaning 'we should never have had the strength to crawl out, if we had not refreshed ourselves by a night's rest.'

81. **udos**: the emphatic word; 'because of the dampness of the fuel.' — **urente camino**: so *triverit area*, 1, 1, 45. The *caminus* (cf. *Epist.* 1, 11, 19) was an arrangement, other than the open hearth, for heating a room, but the details of its construction are unknown.

85. **raedis**: both *raeda* (or *reda*) and *petorritum* (or *petoritum*) are Gallic words (Quint. 1. 5, 57), and this fact accounts for the variation in spelling. The mention of carriages at this stage of the journey and the contrast between *rapimur* and *erepsemus* must certainly imply a change in the mode of traveling, from riding to driving.

87. **quod versu dicere non est**: so Lucilius (228 f., Marx) has 'servorum festus dies hic, | quem plane hexametro versu non dicere possis' of the feast of the *Sĭgillārĭa*, and Ovid (*ex Ponto*, 4, 12) jokes about the impossibility of bringing the name of his friend *Tŭtĭcānus* into elegiac verse. The name of the town is unknown, in spite of statements by the scholiasts.

88 ff. **signis**: by the indications which follow, the lack of good water and the excellence of the bread. — **venit**: from *veneo*; emphatic by position and by contrast with *vilissima*; 'they ask here for what can elsewhere be had for nothing — water.' — **ultra**: *i.e.* the traveler who knows what he is about (*callidus*) lays in a supply for the next stage of the journey. — **soleāt**: an early long

callidus ut soleat umeris portare viator :
nam Canusi lapidosus, aquae non ditior urna
qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim.
Flentibus hinc Varius discedit maestus amicis.
Inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum
carpentes iter et factum corruptius imbri.
Postera tempestas melior, via peior ad usque
Bari moenia piscosi ; dein Gnatia lymphis
iratis exstructa dedit risusque iocosque,
dum flamma sine tura liquescere limine sacro
persuadere cupit. Credat Iudaeus Apella,
non ego ; namque deos didici securum agere aevum,

quantity preserved here, as occasionally elsewhere in Horace and in Vergil and frequently in Plautus. — **umeris portare** : a general term, for most travelers would have slaves to carry their provisions.

91 f. **Canusi** : gen., not locative ; *sc. panis*. — **lapidosus** : *gritty*. — **aquae** : gen. with *ditior* ; so *dives artium*, *Carm.* 4, 8, 5 ; *dives opis*, *Sat.* 1, 2, 74. — **urna** : abl. of degree of difference. — The narrative hurries on here through uninteresting scenes and events and three distinct statements ('the bread of Canusium is gritty ; water there is scarce ; the town was founded by Diomed') are condensed into a single sentence. The intentional awkwardness expresses the haste of the story.

93. **Flentibus . . . amicis** : 'leaving his friends in tears' ; a dative of separation. The exaggeration is intentionally humorous.

96. **tempestas** : *weather*, as frequently in early and classical Latin.

97 f. **piscosi** : Barium was on the coast. — **dein** : monosyllabic. — **lymphis iratis exstructa** : 'built under the frown of the water nymphs,' *i.e.* lacking in good water.

99. The 'miracle' was exhibited to the distinguished visitors. As described by Pliny, *H.N.* 2, 107, 240, it was the wood on the altar which took fire of itself.

100. **Credat Iudaeus Apella** : there were many Jews in Rome at this time and Horace had evidently some knowledge of their beliefs (*Sat.* 1, 4, 143 ; 1, 9, 66 f. ; perhaps also 2, 3, 288 ff.), possibly even of their belief in this particular kind of miracle (*Levit.* 9, 24 ; *I Kings* 18, 38).

101. **securum** : 'Careless of mankind,' Tennyson, *The Lotus*

nec, si quid miri faciat natura, deos id
tristis ex alto caeli demittere tecto.
Brundisium longae finis chartaeque viaeque est.

*Eaters.* The verse is a quotation of Lucretius, 5, 82 — *nam bene qui didicere deos securum agere aevom* — and an expression of Horace's Epicurean skepticism.

102 f. **natura**: the working force which in the Epicurean philosophy is sufficient to explain all phenomena, however strange. — **tristis**: *in their anger.* Early religions are, in general, rather a means of propitiating the wrath of the gods than an expression of gratitude or trust.

## 6

The date of this satire cannot be precisely fixed, but it was written between 38 and 33 B.C. The upper limit is fixed by the allusion in vss. 54 ff. to Horace's introduction to Maecenas, which was probably not earlier than 38 B.C. On the other hand, the second half of the satire would certainly have contained some allusion to the Sabine form, which came into Horace's possession in 33, if the satire had been written after that date.

'Your high position, my dear Maecenas, as a man of noble family, evidently does not seem to you to justify you in looking down upon other men, upon me, for instance, a freedman's son. On the contrary, your admission of all freeborn citizens to social equality seems to express your belief that character, not birth, is the proper basis of a claim to public recognition. And, in fact, even the ordinary voter, prone as he is to be dazzled by noble birth, sees this truth and acts upon it. But we, whose vision is clearer, ought to see still deeper and to distinguish between social recognition and political advancement. A political ambition, like that of Tillius, not improperly raises questions of family and of inherited fitness for public office. But, for me, I have no political ambition and the office which I once held in the army of Brutus came to me by mere chance; I will not even take the trouble to defend myself against the criticisms which it excited. But my friendship with you is no chance; two sponsors whom I am proud to name, Vergil and Varius, introduced me to you and after careful deliberation you accepted me as a friend, judging me not by my father's rank, but by my own character.

'And yet that very character which has won your esteem was my father's gift to me. He was a poor man, a freedman, yet he gave me

such an education as a knight or a senator might have given to his son, attending me himself to guard me against the dangers of the city, not deterred by the fear of educating me above my station. I should be mad to wish that I had had a different father. I will not even say, as some do, that I was not responsible for my humble parentage. On the contrary, I would not exchange my father for any other, not even for one who had sat in the curule chair and worn the purple.

'For, after all, I prefer my quiet life. No bother about money, no formal calls to make, no swarm of servants, no fuss. I stroll about town as I please and watch the sights of the streets; I go home to a plain dinner and a good night's sleep, untroubled by the thought of early business engagements in the morning. I read or write, I take a little exercise, I have a light lunch and an afternoon of leisure. That's a great deal more comfortable than the life of the people who think they have a position to maintain.'

This satire belongs in subject and treatment with the third, the fourth, and the tenth. It springs directly out of the circumstances of Horace's life at the time it was written and marks another step in his progress from the earlier years of rebellious obscurity to the assured position of the Second Book. His friendship with men of rank, his acceptance by Maecenas, and, in particular, the publication of the account of the journey to Brundisium had revived the old criticisms which his position in the army of Brutus had aroused and had given new grounds for suspecting him of social and political ambitions. The satire is in form a disclaimer of such ambitions, while in substance it is a defence of the friends who had accorded him social recognition and a very manly and dignified declaration of pride in his father's wisdom and of contentment with his own quiet life.

Non quia, Maecenas, Lydorum quicquid Etruscos
incoluit finis, nemo generosior est te,

1. **Non**: with *suspendis*, vs. 5, not with *quia*. The sentence is best translated by changing its structure: 'although no one . . . , and although your ancestors . . . , you do not, for that reason, treat with contempt . . . '— **quia**: not different in sense from *quod*, vs. 3, though *quia* is, in general, the more colloquial. — **Maecenas**: the fact that Maecenas had publicly recognized Horace as a friend is the natural starting point of the argument. — **Lydorum**: there was a tradition that the Etruscan nobility was descended from Lydian colonists (Herod. 1, 94), as the Roman aristocracy claimed de-

nec quod avus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus,
olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent,
ut plerique solent, naso suspendis adunco
ignotos, ut me libertino patre natum.
Cum referre negas quali sit quisque parente
natus, dum ingenuus, persuades hoc tibi vere,
ante potestatem Tulli atque ignobile regnum

scent from Troy, and as many Italian cities were supposed to have been founded by Greek heroes; cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 92. The gen. plur. is a partitive gen. with *quicquid* (Catull. 3, 2, *quantum est hominum venustiorum*; 31, 14, *quicquid est domi cachinnorum*), but by its position it is made to serve also as a gen. for *nemo*.

2. generosior: *more nobly born*. There are various general references, like *Carm.* 1, 1, 1, *Maecenas, atavis edite regibus*, to the nobility of the Cilnii, but it does not appear that the family had taken a conspicuous place in Roman public life.

3–4. avus maternus . . . : the reference is general, as the subjv. *imperitarent* shows, though the use of *maternus* may be an allusion to the Etruscan custom of reckoning descent through the mother's side. — legionibus: also general; *great armies*.

5. naso suspendis adunco: such phrases as this, which express an emotion by describing the instinctive distortion of the features which accompanies it, are common in Latin, and are found even in serious passages, as here; they are doubtless colloquial in origin, but they are much less undignified than the corresponding English phrases like 'turn up your nose at.'

6. ignotos: *men of humble birth*. Cf. vss. 24, 36, below; *notus* and *nobilis* are only partially differentiated in meaning.

7. Cum referre negas: *in refusing to consider*; the explicative use of *cum*; 'your refusal to consider . . . is, in reality, a declaration of your belief that . . .'

8. ingenuus: *freeborn*. Maecenas, like Augustus (Sueton. *Aug.* 74), admitted to social equality any man who was born in freedom, but did not extend such recognition to freedmen (*libertini*). Horace is here dwelling upon the liberality of the admission; the exclusion of freedmen seemed to him, as, indeed, it well might, a natural limitation, to be mentioned only incidentally. — persuades . . . tibi: *you express your conviction*.

9–17. In this somewhat difficult passage two distinct ideas are fused into one statement, and a third is appended which strictly

multos saepe viros nullis maioribus ortos
et vixisse probos, amplis et honoribus auctos;
contra Laevinum, Valeri genus, unde superbus
Tarquinius regno pulsus fugit, unius assis
non umquam pretio pluris licuisse, notante
iudice, quo nosti, populo, qui stultus honores

belongs with the next sentence: (1) 'Your belief is that men of humble birth often deserve honor, and men of noble birth sometimes deserve to be obscure'; (2) 'this principle has often been illustrated in Roman history — plebeians have been elected to the consulship, and patricians have been nobodies'; (3) 'if the common voter can judge so correctly, then you and I should certainly not be misled by the accident of birth.' If Horace had been trying to use the forms of precise reasoning, only the first of these statements would have been subordinated to *persuades hoc tibi vere;* the second would have been put into an independent sentence, and the third would have been connected with vss. 17–18, to which it is a kind of protasis.

9. **ante . . . regnum**: *i.e.* even before the reign of Servius Tullius, who was traditionally held to be the son of a slave woman, and before the Servian reform of the constitution, which was regarded as the beginning of democracy in Rome.

11. **et . . . probos . . . et . . . auctos**: predicate with *vixisse*. The sentence is paratactic; translate, 'because they lived upright lives, were honored with high offices.'

12. **Laevinum**: unknown. The statement of the scholiast adds nothing to what is implied in the context. — **Valeri genus**: *of the Valerian gens*, one of the great Roman families. — **unde**: = *a quo*, to be taken with *pulsus*. M. Valerius Poplicola aided Brutus in expelling Tarquinius Superbus, and was one of the consuls of the first year.

14. **licuisse**: *sold for*, i.e. *was worth;* from *liceo*. — **pluris**: gen. of indefinite value. — **pretio**: abl. after the comparative, with *unius assis* depending upon it.

14 f. **notante iudice**: abl. absolute; *iudice* is defined by *quo nosti* (by attraction from *quem nosti*) and by the appositive, *populo*. The defeat at the polls is like the judgment of the censors; either excludes from the Senate.

15 ff. The indic. in this clause emphasizes its detachment from the indirect discourse. — **famae servit**: *i.e.* the judgment of the common people is, too often, taken captive by family reputation. —

saepe dat indignis et famae servit ineptus,
qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus. Quid oportet
nos facere, a volgo longe longeque remotos?
Namque esto populus Laevino mallet honorem
quam Decio mandare novo, censorque moveret
Appius, ingenuo si non essem patre natus:
vel merito, quoniam in propria non pelle quiessem.
Sed fulgente trahit constrictos Gloria curru
non minus ignotos generosis. Quo tibi, Tilli,

**imaginibus**: the waxen masks of ancestors who had held curule office. — **titulis**: the inscription under each mask enumerating the offices held by the original. The masks were hung in the *atrium*, and the possession of them indicated that the family was *nobilis*.

17–22. 'If the people, prone as they are to be dazzled by appearances, can sometimes see below the surface, then we, the intelligent classes, should be able to see still more deeply into the truth. For, whether the machinery of government favors the patrician or the plebeian, it is certainly true that, for such a man as I am, political ambition is folly. — **esto**: used frequently by Horace (*Sat.* 2, 1, 83; 2, 2, 30) to express a concession; here, in parataxis with *mallet*, it becomes almost a concessive conjunction, as in the English, 'granted the people might prefer . . . , yet . . .' — **Decio . . . novo**: P. Decius Mus, a plebeian and *novus homo*, the first of his family to hold a curule office. He devoted himself to death in order to secure victory in the battle of Mt. Vesuvius in 340 B.C., and is frequently referred to as a type of heroic patriotism. — **censor . . . Appius**: Appius Claudius Pulcher, the brother of Clodius, censor in 50 B.C. He scrutinized the senatorial lists with great severity, excluding many nobles and all sons of freedmen.

22. **vel merito**: *and rightly, too; i.e.* 'I should deserve it for being such a fool as to be tempted by political ambition.' — **propria . . . pelle**: an allusion to Aesop's fable of the Ass in the Lion's Skin; cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 314–320; 2, 5, 56.

23 f. 'But most men do not see this deeper truth; Ambition drags them after her, chained to her chariot.' The same figure is used in *Epist.* 2, 1, 177, *ventoso gloria curru*. — **ignotos**: = *ignobiles*, as in vs. 6.

24 f. **Quo tibi**: regularly followed by an infin., as here; lit., 'to what end is it for you to . . . ?'

sumere depositum clavum fierique tribuno?
Invidia adcrevit, privato quae minor esset.
Nam ut quisque insanus nigris medium impediit crus
pellibus, et latum demisit pectore clavum,
audit continuo 'Quis homo hic?' et 'quo patre natus?'
Vt, si qui aegrotet quo morbo Barrus haberi
et cupiat formosus, eat quacumque, puellis
iniciat curam quaerendi singula, quali
sit facie, sura, quali pede, dente, capillo;
sic qui promittit civis, urbem sibi curae,
imperium fore et Italiam, delubra deorum,
quo patre sit natus, num ignota matre inhonestus,
omnis mortalis curare et quaerere cogit.

*what good does it do you . . . ?* — **Tilli**: he had had the *latus clavus*, the broad purple stripe which was worn by senators on the tunic, had for some reason lost it (*depositum*), and was now proposing to win it again (*sumere*) by being elected *tribunus plebis* as a first step toward a curule office. To these inferences from the text the scholiast (*recepit post Caesarum occisum; nam pulsus ante senatu fuerat*) adds little. The reference may be to a brother of L. Tillius Cimber. — **tribuno**: dat.; cf. 1, 1, 19.

27 f. **nigris . . . pellibus**: senators wore a shoe which was tied by four black leather bands wound crosswise about the ankle and up the calf (*medium crus*).

29. **continuo**: *immediately*; corresponding to *ut*, *as soon as*.

30 f. **aegrotet, morbo**: figurative, as in *Sat.* 2, 3, 306 f., *quo me aegrotare putes animi vitio?* The following clause, *et cupiat*, explains the nature of the disease. — **Barrus**: the name occurs again in *Sat.* 1, 7, 8, but identification with any known person is uncertain. — **haberi**: depends on *cupiat*.

32. **iniciat**: *i.e.* his evident belief that he is handsome leads the girls to consider his features in detail (*singula*) to see whether he really is all that he claims to be.

34 f. The promises of the candidate are intentionally exaggerated. No single official had so wide a range of duties.

36. **ignota, inhonestus**: with reference to birth, as elsewhere in this satire, vss. 6, 24, 96.

37. **curare, quaerere**: repeating *curam quaerendi*, 32. The bit of

'Tune, Syri, Damae, aut Dionysi filius, audes
deicere e saxo civis aut tradere Cadmo?'
'At Novius collega gradu post me sedet uno;
namque est ille, pater quod erat meus.' 'Hoc tibi Paulus
et Messalla videris? At hic, si plostra ducenta
concurrantque foro tria funera magna, sonabit
cornua quod vincatque tubas; saltem tenet hoc nos.

dialogue which follows expands the idea and makes it vivid.

38. These are ordinary foreign slave names; Syrus is used in the plays of Terence and Dama occurs in *Sat.* 2, 5, 18.

39. **deicere**: in three syllables. — **e saxo**: from the Tarpeian Rock. This old form of punishment was carried into execution by the tribunes, but it had fallen into disuse except as a figure of speech for an extreme penalty; cf. Cic. *ad Att.* 14, 15, 1. — **Cadmo**: *Cadmus carnifex illo tempore fuisse dicitur.* Schol.

40 f. **Novius**: this name is selected to suggest a derivation from *novus*, like Thackeray's *Newcome* or Henry James's *Newman*. — **gradu . . . uno**: not literally, for there was no assignment of special seats to freedmen; but figuratively, with an allusion to the law of Otho, 67 B.C., assigning to the knights fourteen rows of seats behind the senators. The law had made much talk and the distinction had passed into a kind of proverb. — **est ille, . . . meus**: *i.e.* 'he is himself a freedman, while I am the son of a freedman.'

41 f. **Hoc**: abl., *for this reason* as in vs. 52, below. — **Paulus et Messalla**: the *cognomina* of two of the most distinguished noble families in Rome. The absurdity of the claim is heightened by the use of *et*, as if the man could suppose himself to be both at once.

42–44. **hic**: = *Novius collega*. 'Your claim to superiority is based upon an advantage so petty that it is more than counterbalanced by his having a big voice.' — **plostra**: the plebian form of *plaustra* (cf. *Claudius* and *Clodius*), employed here because the argument represents the view of the common people (*saltem tenet hoc nos*). — **magna**: with *funera*. [Neither *Sat.* 1, 4, 44, *os magna sonaturum*, nor Juv. 7, 108, *ipsi magna sonant*, justifies the taking of *magna sonare* as a standing phrase, *to shout loudly*. In neither passage is the plural force quite lost and the quality designated is loftiness of style, not mere loudness of voice.] — **quod**: the antecedent is the internal object of

Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum,
quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,
nunc, quia sim tibi, Maecenas, convictor, at olim,
quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.
Dissimile hoc illi est; quia non, ut forsit honorem
iure mihi invideat quivis, ita te quoque amicum,
praesertim cautum dignos assumere, prava

*sonabit.* — **-que**: connecting *cornua* and *tubas*; cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 17. — This incidental picture of the Roman Forum, though it is intentionally exaggerated, is in harmony with what Juvenal says in his third satire of the dangerously crowded Roman streets. The Forum was the official center of all political and public life, the place where the funeral processions of great men, with their horns and trumpets, paused to listen to the *laudatio*, and it was at the same time the principal business center of the city. At this period great public works also were under construction, which necessitated the hauling of blocks of stone in heavy wagons.

45. **Nunc ad me redeo**: *i.e.* to vs. 6, as the repetition here of the last words of that line shows. The intervening verses are not altogether a digression; they meet the suspicion that Horace was ambitious of political influence, and thus enable him to pass lightly over that criticism (vss. 48–50) and to come to the main theme of the satire, the dignity and comfort of a quiet life.

47 f. **sim, pareret**: subjv., giving the reasons of the critics as expressed by themselves. — **convictor**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 95, *convictore . . . amicoque.* — **tribuno**: *sc. militum.* This curious episode in his life is briefly mentioned in the *Vita Horati* of Suetonius: *bello Philippensi excitus a M. Bruto imperatore tribunus militum meruit.*

49. **honorem**: *office*, as in the phrase *cursus honorum*, and often.

50. **iure**: it is, however, unlikely that the office was given to him without reason. Probably he had shown, even in his student years at Athens, those qualities of sanity and good judgment which made him in later life the valued friend of men of affairs. — **te**: obj. of *invideat.*

51 f. **cautum dignos assumere**: the friends whom Maecenas had already gathered about him were men of high standing and character, and, especially, men interested in literature rather than in politics. Admission to this circle was, of itself, evidence that Horace was not cherishing a political ambition. — **prava ambitione procul**:

ambitione procul. Felicem dicere non hoc
me possim, casu quod te sortitus amicum;
nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit: optimus olim
Vergilius, post hunc Varius dixere quid essem.
Vt veni coram, singultim pauca locutus
(infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari),
non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum
me Satureiano vectari rura caballo,

*men free from distorted ambition;* an amplification of *dignos*. The expression is lacking in clearness, but cf. *Carm.* 4, 1, 4–6, *desine . . . circa lustra decem flectere, a man of ten lustra*. The word *inambitiosus*, which is used once by Ovid, would not have expressed the thought, especially the effect of *prava*, and, in the lack of an article or a present participle of *esse*, some such periphrasis as this is necessary.

**52–54. Felicem**: the gossip which attributed the friendship of Maecenas to mere chance (cf. *Sat.* 2, 6, 49, '*Fortunae filius*,' *omnes*) is emphatically denied by the position of *felicem* and by *casu, sortitus, fors*. 'My acceptance by you is not due at all to luck, but to the kindness of my friends and to your deliberate choice.'

**54 f. optimus**: cf. *candida anima, Sat.* 1, 5, 42; *animae dimidium meae, Carm.* 1, 3, 8; *pius, Carm.* 1, 24, 11. These terms of respect and admiration are quite in accord with the account of Vergil's life and character in the *Vita* of Donatus. — **olim**: *some time ago;* but the contrast with *post hunc* (cf. *olim . . . mox*) gives it a meaning like *first*.

**57. infans**: in the original sense, *speechless, i.e.* 'which made me tongue-tied.' The embarrassment is further indicated by the alliteration *p-udor p-rohibebat p-lura p-rofari*.

**58 ff. non ego . . . narro**: Horace's birth and circumstances were, of course, known to Maecenas, and his character had already been described by his friends (*dixere quid essem*). This sentence, therefore, does not mean that he did not attempt to deceive Maecenas, — which would have been absurd, — but that he spoke of himself frankly, with the modesty which befitted the son of a freedman and a poor man, and with a recognition of his own limitations of character (*quod eram*). — **Satureiano**: = *Tarentino* ('quia Satureia dicta est Tarentina civitas.' Schol.); the neighborhood of Tarentum was a particularly pleasant part of Italy

sed, quod eram, narro. Respondes, ut tuus est mos,
pauca; abeo, et revocas nono post mense iubesque
esse in amicorum numero. Magnum hoc ego duco,
quod placui tibi, qui turpi secernis honestum,
non patre praeclaro, sed vita et pectore puro.
Atqui si vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis
mendosa est natura, alioqui recta, — velut si
egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore naevos, —
si neque avaritiam neque sordes nec mala lustra
obiciet vere quisquam mihi, purus et insons
(ut me collaudem) si et vivo carus amicis,
causa fuit pater his, qui, macro pauper agello,
noluit in Flavi ludum me mittere, magni
quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti,

(cf. *Carm.* 2, 6, 9 ff.) and was occupied by large estates (*rura*). — **caballo**: the low Latin word (for *equus*), from which the Romance words *cavallo*, *cheval*, are derived.

63. **turpi secernis honestum**: cf. *honestum* as a philosophical term, *Sat.* 1, 3, 42, and *iusto secernere iniquum*, *Sat.* 1, 3, 113. The adj. is in all these cases neuter and general; 'you who distinguish worth from unworthiness, not by the position of one's father, but by his own uprightness of character.'

65 ff. 'And yet that very uprightness of life and character, upon which my claim is based, is my father's legacy to me; it is to his training that I owe all that I am.' — **mediocribus, paucis**: these express the modesty which is implied in *quod eram*, vs. 60; cf. also 1, 4, 139.

67. **reprehendas**: strictly, the comparison would be 'which are merely like slight defects in an otherwise handsome person,' but the idea of *reprehendas* expands the suggestion implied in *mendosa*; 'spotted by few faults, no more to be made a matter of censure than . . .'

68. **sordes**: *low tastes and habits.* — **mala lustra**: *haunts of vice.*

69 f. The order is *si purus et insons et carus amicis vivo.*

72 f. **Flavi**: the schoolmaster in Venusia. — **magni, magnis**: the families of veteran soldiers, to whom land had been assigned near Venusia, constituted a local aristocracy.

laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto,
ibant octonos referentes Idibus aeris,
sed puerum est ausus Romam portare, docendum
artis quas doceat quivis eques atque senator
semet prognatos. Vestem servosque sequentis,
in magno ut populo, si qui vidisset, avita
ex re praeberi sumptus mihi crederet illos.

74. **loculos, tabulam**: the 'Greek' accus. with passive verb, like *inutile ferrum cingitur*, *Aen.* 2, 510 f. *loculi* (in the plur. only, in this sense), *satchel; tabula*, *slate* made of wood and covered with wax.

75. The general sense is clear; the boys carried their tuition money to the school at regular times. But the text is uncertain and the customs alluded to are not clearly known. Translate 'carrying their eight asses (*nummos* to be supplied) of money on the monthly pay-day.'

The amount would be small (ten or twelve cents) and the petty details — the limited curriculum, the carrying of slates and satchels by the children, the promptness in paying the tuition — are set in ironical contrast with the pretensions of the village magnates.

76. **est ausus**: a very pleasant recognition of the courage and independence shown by his father.

77. **artis**: the higher studies, which were not taught at Venusia; the study of early Latin poetry is alluded to in *Epist.* 2, 1, 69 f. and the reading of the Iliad in *Epist.* 2, 2, 41 f.

79–80. **in magno ut populo**: *in the midst of the crowd.* [This is *ut* restrictive. Ordinarily it restricts an adj, as in the familiar passage in Cic. *Cato Maior*, 12, *multae etiam, ut in homine Romano, litterae;* so in Cic. *Brit.* 102, *scriptor fuit, ut temporibus illis, luculentus*, and in the passages quoted by Schütz. Here it restricts *vidisset*, which is not simply *had seen*, but *had noticed;* this use is perfectly supported by two passages quoted by Orelli from Ovid, *Trist.* 1, 1, 17 f., *si quis, ut in populo, nostri non immemor . . . erit*, and *ex Ponto*, 4, 5, 11, *si quis, ut in populo, qui sitis et unde, requiret.*] — This passage does not mean that Horace's father encouraged him in an unsuitable display; the context forbids that understanding. The lines continue the thought of 76 ff.; as the father's foresight led him to give his son the best possible education, so it led him also to provide proper dress and attendance.

Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnis
circum doctores aderat. Quid multa? Pudicum,
qui primus virtutis honos, servavit ab omni
non solum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi;
nec timuit sibi ne vitio quis verteret, olim
si praeco parvas aut, ut fuit ipse, coactor
mercedes sequerer; neque ego essem questus; at hoc nunc
laus illi debetur et a me gratia maior.
Nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius, eoque
non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars,
quod non ingenuos habeat clarosque parentes,

81. **custos**: *i.e.* as *paedagogus*, the slave who accompanied a properly cared-for boy in the streets. — **incorruptissimus**: *who could not be bribed.*

82 ff. 'In short, he kept me clean — and that is beginning and foundation of manliness — not only from vice itself, but also from the touch of scandal.'

85. **nec timuit**: the same thought as that in *est ausus*, vs. 76. He risked the possibility that he might sometime be reproached with having educated his son above the son's actual station in life. — **vitio verteret**: a standing phrase; 'should consider it an error on his part,' 'should reproach him.' — **olim**: of the future, as not infrequently.

86. **coactor**: the *Vita* of Suetonius says that Horace's father was *exactionum coactor* (a subordinate official in the collecting of taxes) or, according to some Mss., *auctionum coactor*, a collector of money at auctions. The latter is consistent with *praeco, an auctioneer*, and with *parvas mercedes*. Either was a respectable and useful business, but one which did not require much education.

87. **hoc**: *on this account*, as in 41, 52. — **nunc**: 'as things have turned out.'

89. Cf. 1, 5, 44, *nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico.* — **huius**: qualitative; *such a father.*

90 ff. **ut . . . negat . . ., sic . . . defendam**: a condensed form of comparison; 'I will not defend myself as many do by saying that it wasn't my fault.' — **dolo**: a legal term, in full *dolus malus*. Technical definitions are quoted in the lexicon.

sic me defendam. Longe mea discrepat istis
et vox et ratio: nam si natura iuberet
a certis annis aevum remeare peractum,
atque alios legere ad fastum quoscumque parentes
optaret sibi quisque, meis contentus, honestos
fascibus et sellis nollem mihi sumere, demens
iudicio volgi, sanus fortasse tuo, quod
nollem onus haud umquam solitus portare molestum.
Nam mihi continuo maior quaerenda foret res,
atque salutandi plures; ducendus et unus
et comes alter, uti ne solus rusve peregreve
exirem; plures calones atque caballi
pascendi, ducenda petorrita. Nunc mihi curto
ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum,

92 ff. **istis**: dat. masculine, referring to *magna pars*, with some suggestion of contempt. — **et vox et ratio**: *both my way of speaking and my way of thinking.* — **a certis annis**: *i.e.* if there were some natural law which obliged all men, upon reaching a certain fixed age, say twenty-one, to go back and start life again, with a free choice as to their parentage. The apodosis is *nollem*, 97.

96. **honestos**: *honored;* cf. 36; not as in vs. 63.

97. **fascibus et sellis**: with *honestos;* the insignia of curule office.

98. **iudicio . . . tuo**: the judgment referred to in the beginning of this satire, but with a reference also to the unwillingness of Maecenas to hold office; 'hoc ad Maecenatem recte dicitur, qui, abhorrens senatoriam dignitatem, in equestris ordinis gradu se continuit.' Schol.

101. **salutandi plures**: the burden of making and receiving the formal morning calls became very oppressive and is frequently alluded to by later writers. — **ducendus et**: for *et ducendus*. The social proprieties required that a man of rank should take with him on a journey a retinue of servants and friends, as Maecenas did on the journey to Brundisium.

104. **petorrita**: a Gallic name for a four-wheeled traveling wagon; cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 86 n. — **Nunc**: cf. vs. 87. — **curto**: apparently in a general sense, like *curta res*, *Carm.* 3, 24, 64; *humble, plain, little.*

mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret atque eques armos;
obiciet nemo sordes mihi quas tibi, Tilli,
cum Tiburte via praetorem quinque sequuntur
te pueri, lasanum portantes oenophorumque.
Hoc ego commodius quam tu, praeclare senator,
milibus atque aliis vivo. Quacumque libido est,
incedo solus; percontor quanti olus ac far;
fallacem circum vespertinumque pererro
saepe forum; adsisto divinis; inde domum me

106. A reminiscence of Lucilius, 1027 (Marx), *mantica cantheri costas gravitate premebat.* — **ulceret**: subjv., because the whole situation is hypothetical (*si libet*).

107 ff. Horace may travel the whole length of Italy alone, riding his mule and carrying his baggage behind the saddle, but a praetor must have a retinue to go only to Tibur and even then may be accused of meanness because his attendants are so few in number. — **Tilli**: the same man who is mentioned in vs. 24. — **quinque . . . pueri**: a number great enough to be an incumbrance, but not sufficient for real dignity according to Roman standards.

109. **lasanum . . . oenophorumque**: *camp kettle and wine basket.* But the exact uses of these utensils are not made clear and we can only guess whether the carrying of them is mentioned as evidence of a desire for display or as proof of *sordes*, because he wished to avoid the expense of an inn.

111. **milibus atque aliis**: *and in a thousand other ways*; corresponding to *hoc.* — **libido est**: = *libet*, as often in early Latin. — The picture of a day's round of interests and occupations, which occupies the rest of the satire, begins with the middle of the afternoon and closes (vs. 128) with lunch and the afternoon *siesta*.

112. **solus**: without a troublesome retinue, such as a senator would feel obliged to have. — **percontor**: not with the intention of buying, but in order to get into conversation with the hucksters.

113. **fallacem circum**: the Circus Maximus was a gathering-place for all sorts of swindlers and street fakirs. — **vespertinum**: by the middle of the afternoon the courts had adjourned (cf. *Epist.* 1, 7, 46–48, where the lawyer goes home *octavam circiter horam*), the main business of the day was over and the Forum was given up to idlers.

114. **adsisto divinis**: *I stop and watch the fortune tellers.* —

ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum.
Cena ministratur pueris tribus, et lapis albus
pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet; adstat echinus
vilis, cum patera guttus, Campana supellex.
Deinde eo dormitum, non sollicitus, mihi quod cras
surgendum sit mane, obeundus Marsya, qui se
voltum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris.
Ad quartam iaceo; post hanc vagor; aut ego, lecto
aut scripto quod me tacitum iuvet, unguor olivo,

These details are given to illustrate Horace's freedom from the embarrassment of social position; they illustrate also his humorous interest in all sides of life.

115. The Romans were not vegetarians, but they ate meat less often than the more northern races and regarded it as a luxury. Cf. *Carm.* I, 31, 15 f., where the 'simple life' is suggested by saying *me pascunt olivae, me cichorea levesque malvae.*

116–118. The details are further evidence of the unostentatious simplicity of his life. — **pueris tribus**: a moderate number for a Roman gentleman; cf. *Sat.* I, 3, 11 f., where an establishment of ten slaves is contrasted with one of two hundred to illustrate the extremes of simplicity and extravagance. — **lapis albus**: a slab of marble on three legs; cf. *Sat.* I, 3, 13 n. — **pocula . . . duo**: perhaps for two kinds of wine or two different mixtures of wine and water. — **cyatho**: the ladle for dipping the wine out of the mixing bowl. — **echinus**: the scholiasts make various guesses as to the use of this unknown utensil. — **cum patera guttus**: *an oil bottle with its saucer.* — **Campana**: ordinary earthenware.

120 f. **obeundus Marsya**: *must go to meet Marsyas, i.e.* must go to the part of the Forum where the statue of Marsyas stood, to meet some early business obligation. The statement of Servius (on *Aen.* 4, 58) that statues of Marsyas with uplifted hand were erected in market places points to a Silenus figure and excludes a reference to the flaying of Marsyas by Apollo. The gesture is here humorously interpreted as an expression of dislike to the looks of the younger Novius, a banker whose stall stood in the neighborhood of the statue.

122. **Ad quartam**: somewhere about ten o'clock. A senator was expected to receive clients early in the morning; cf. I, 1, 10 n.

123. **tacitum iuvet**: *i.e.* he finds pleasure in his reading or writing, without needing any com-

non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis.
Ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum
admonuit, fugio campum lusumque trigonem.
Pransus non avide, quantum interpellet inani
ventre diem durare, domesticus otior. Haec est
vita solutorum misera ambitione gravique;
his me consolor victurum suavius ac si
quaestor avus pater atque meus patruusque fuisset.

panion to express it to. — **unguor**: he is rubbed down with olive oil, preparatory to his regular exercise.

124. **Natta**: unknown. The oil which he stole from the lamps would be of poor quality.

126. **trigonem**: in appos. to *lusum*. The game was played by three persons (hence τρίγωνος), who stood at the corners of a triangle and 'passed' the ball, not using a bat.

127 f. **Pransus**: the *prandium*, *lunch*, was usually about one o'clock. — **domesticus otior**: a humorous expression; *domesticus* is not precisely the same as *domi*, and *otior*, of which the scholiast says 'verbum finxit quod significat *otium ago*,' is used only once before this, in a joking quotation by Cicero (*de Off.* 3, 14, 58).

130. **his**: abl. neut., like *hoc*, 110, and *milibus aliis*, 111.

131. **quaestor**: the lowest office in the *cursus honorum*, election to which gave admission to the Senate. To have reached this office, however, without going beyond it, was not a great distinction, and the line therefore means 'than if my ancestors had barely squeezed into the Senate,' with a little good-humored scorn of men who prided themselves upon mere senatorial rank.

## 7

The event which is the subject of this satire occurred at Clazomenae in Asia Minor, while Brutus was acting as governor of Macedonia and Asia, either in 43 B.C. or in the first half of 42, before the battle of Philippi.

But the date of composition is less certain; the satire may have been written immediately after the incident or it may be a reminiscence of the campaign written out at any time between 41, when Horace returned to Rome, and 35 B.C., when the first book of satires was published. As the satire itself contains no specific allusions to fix the

date of composition, there is left only the rather uncertain method of adjusting its general tone to what may be supposed to have been Horace's attitude of mind at one date or another. These indications point to the earliest date; the tone toward Rupilius is different from his general attitude of loyalty toward his companions in that ill-fated campaign; the allusion in vs. 3 to the widespread circulation of the story would be pointless five years after the occurrence; the reference to Brutus in vss. 33 ff., which in any case seems flippant, is easier to understand if the lines were written before the battle of Philippi and left standing as a part of the record, than if we suppose them to have been written with deliberation after the tragic death of Brutus. And, in general, the tone of the satire is distinctly less mature and thoughtful than the tone of Satires 3, 4, 6. There is a certain crudeness and harshness in it, a certain sensationalism, a failure to reach the principles of conduct which underlie particular events; in these respects it is like Satires 2 and 8 and is to be classed with them as belonging to the earliest period of Horace's work. It is as an example of the work of that period — a better example than either Satire 2 or 8 — that it is here provided with a commentary.

The course of the thought is so simple as to need no paraphrase.

Proscripti Regis Rupili pus atque venenum hybrida quo pacto sit Persius ultus, opinor omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse.

1. P. Rupilius Rex of Praeneste had been an adherent of Pompey's party and was praetor at the time of Caesar's death. He was proscribed by Antony and Octavius and took refuge with Brutus, who gave him, as a man of some prominence, a place on his staff (vs. 25). The cognomen Rex was common in his family. — **Proscripti**: in contrast with *Regis*. — **Rupili pus atque venenum**: a parody of the epic phrases like ἱερὸν μένος Ἀλκινόοιο; cf. *virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli*, *Sat.* 2, 1, 72; *the abusive and venomous Rupilius*.

2. **hybrida . . . Persius**: *the half-breed Persius*. He is said by the scholiasts to have been the son of a Greek father and a Roman mother; if this is correct, he had taken a Roman name. — **sit . . . ultus**: *punished, castigated*. The idea of *vengeance* in this word is much less prominent than the ordinary definitions make it.

3. **lippis, tonsoribus**: the shops of apothecaries and barbers were lounging places and centers of

Persius hic permagna negotia dives habebat
Clazomenis, etiam litis cum Rege molestas,
durus homo, atque odio qui posset vincere Regem,
confidens tumidusque, adeo sermonis amari,
Sisennas, Barros ut equis praecurreret albis.
Ad Regem redeo. Postquam nihil inter utrumque
convenit (hoc etenim sunt omnes iure molesti,
quo fortes, quibus adversum bellum incidit; inter
Hectora Priamiden animosum atque inter Achillem

gossip. The obvious words would have been *et medicis et tonsoribus*, but inflammation of the eyes was a frequent subject of ridicule and Horace substitutes the name of this one class of patients for the commoner phrase.

5. **etiam litis**: *and likewise lawsuits*, as if the lawsuits were an inevitable consequence of the large business interests. Rupilius had been the head of a syndicate of contractors for the taxes (*magister in ea societate* [*publicanorum*], Cic. *ad Fam.* 13, 9, 2), a position which would easily give rise to lawsuits.

6. **odio . . . vincere**: *surpass Rex in making a nuisance of himself.* So Plaut. *Asin.* 446, *iam hic me abegerit suo odio;* Ter. *Phorm.* 849, *numquam tu odio tuo me vinces.*

8. **Sisennas, Barros**: unknown; the plural indicates the class; *men like Sisenna.* — **equis . . . albis**: white horses were proverbial for speed, so that the sense is 'with perfect ease,' 'he could give odds to.'

9. **Ad Regem redeo**: this is a common formula for returning to the main point after a digression (cf. vs. 45 of the preceding Satire), but here there is no real digression and certainly no returning to Rex. The stock phrase is used partly with humorous intent, but chiefly to keep the name *Rex*, upon which the pun is to be made, before the reader's mind.

10 f. **convenit**: *i.e.* no compromise out of court could be made. The parenthesis, 10–18, explains, again in parody of epic style, why they would not compromise. — **hoc . . . incidit**: 'all nuisances (*molesti*) have just the same rights that mighty heroes (*fortes*) have, who meet in deadly fray.' *hoc iure* is the pred. of *sunt, omnes molesti* the subject; *hoc* is the antecedent of *quo* (sc. *iure*). — **adversum**: *battle face to face;* of the matching of two warriors against each other.

ira fuit capitalis, ut ultima divideret mors,
non aliam ob causam nisi quod virtus in utroque
summa fuit: duo si discordia vexet inertis,
aut si disparibus bellum incidat, ut Diomedi
cum Lycio Glauco, discedat pigrior, ultro
muneribus missis): Bruto praetore tenente
ditem Asiam, Rupili et Persi par pugnat, uti non
compositum melius cum Bitho Bacchius. In ius
acres procurrunt, magnum spectaculum uterque.
Persius exponit causam; ridetur ab omni

13. **capitalis**: *deadly;* expanded in the following clause. — **ultima**: *i.e.* death alone, death at the end.

14. **non aliam ob causam**: the higher motives, like Hector's patriotism, are intentionally ignored and, in parody of the heroic spirit, the heroes fight simply because they are fighters (*virtus . . . summa*).

15 f. **inertis**: *cowards;* contrasted with *fortes*, vs. 11. — **disparibus**: contrasted with *adversum*, vs. 11, which implies equality.

16 ff. Cf. *Il.* 6, 119 ff., where Glaucus refuses to fight Diomed because of the old friendship between them, and they part with an exchange of armor and gifts. This pleasing incident in the war is here, in continuation of the parody of heroic motives, intentionally misinterpreted into cowardice and the payment of a ransom.

18. **praetore**: Brutus was *praetor urbanus* in 44 and in 43–42 was holding Macedonia and Asia Minor in a partially legalized way as *propraetor*. But the title *praetor* is especially suitable to him when he was holding court, as here.

19 f. **par**: *the pair;* a technical term, of two gladiators. — **pugnat**: grammatically the leading verb of *postquam . . . convenit*, 9–10. — **compositum**: also a technical word, of the matching of two gladiators; cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 103 n. — **cum Bitho Bacchius**: two well-known gladiators of the time of Augustus. The combined phrase (= *Bithus et Bacchius*) is the subject of *sit* to be supplied and *compositum* (sc. *par*) *melius* is the predicate, drawn into the subordinate clause as *candidiores* is drawn into the *qualis*-clause in *Sat.* 1, 5, 41 f. 'So matched that Bithus and Bacchius are not a better matched pair.'

21. **procurrunt, spectaculum**: these words carry on the metaphor from the arena.

22. **ridetur**: impers.; *laughter from the whole court.*

conventu ; laudat Brutum laudatque cohortem :
solem Asiae Brutum appellat, stellasque salubris
appellat comites, excepto Rege ; canem illum,
invisum agricolis sidus, venisse. Ruebat,
flumen ut hibernum, fertur quo rara securis.
Tum Praenestinus salso multoquo fluenti
expressa arbusto regerit convicia, durus
vindemiator et invictus, cui saepe viator
cessisset, magna compellans voce cuculum.

23. **conventu**: the regular term for the officials gathered to meet the praetor at the places in his circuit where he held court. — **cohortem**: the *staff* of a provincial governor; also called *comites*, as in vs. 25.

25. **canem**: Sirius, the Dog-star, which brought the heat and drought. The whole series of comparisons, which were meant to prejudice the court in favor of the speaker, are to be thought of as made from the standpoint of the native farmers.

27. **fertur quo rara securis**: *whither the ax of the woodcutter is seldom carried, i.e.* in the depths of the forest, as the snow of winter melts. The figure of a rushing torrent is common enough, but this phrase is too poetic for the context and sounds like parody.

28. **multo**: adj., but to be joined closely with *fluenti*; the two together are the dat. of the ptc. of *multus fluo* (cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 11, *cum flueret lutulentus*); *salso* and *multo fluenti* agree with a dat. to be supplied after *regerit*.

29. **expressa arbusto**: lit., 'squeezed from the vineyard,' *i.e.* drawn from the vocabulary of the vinedresser, redolent of the vineyard, as the English 'billingsgate' is language from the fishmarket. The general idea is more specifically expressed in vss. 30-31. — **regerit**: *hurled back.*

30. **vindemiator**: in four syllables, *vindēmi͡ator. Like a tough and invincible vinedresser;* without *ut*, as often in Horace.

31. **cessisset**: *i.e.* had been obliged to admit himself beaten in fluency of insult. — **cuculum**: the tradition given by the elder Pliny (*H. N.* 18, 66, 249) is that, since the pruning ought to have been finished in the early spring, before the cuckoo came, the passer-by would imitate the cry of the cuckoo to a vinedresser as an intimation that he was behindhand in his work. But this sounds like the forced explanation of a grammarian; *compellans cuculum*

At Graecus, postquam est Italo perfusus aceto,
Persius exclamat: 'Per magnos, Brute, deos te
oro, qui reges consueris tollere, cur non
hunc Regem iugulas? Operum hoc, mihi crede,
tuorum est.'

means simply *calling him a cuckoo*. [The Plautine passages are *Asin.* 923, 934, *Pers.* 282, *Ps.* 96, *Trin.* 245. They all antedate the explanation given by Pliny.]

32. **Graecus, Italo**: in contrast.

34. **qui . . . consueris**: *since you have the habit of removing Kings*, with reference to his ancestor, who had driven out the Tarquins, and to Brutus himself as one of the *liberatores* who had killed Caesar.

35. **Regem**: the same pun upon the name of Q. Marcius Rex was made by Cicero (*ad Att.* 1, 16, 10). — **Operum . . . tuorum**: pred. gen.; 'this is just in your line,' 'just the proper kind of business for you.'

## 8

There is no allusion in this satire definite enough to fix the date. The plot of ground which is the scene had been a burial-place, and was afterward acquired by Maecenas and used as the site for his palace and gardens. But the date when he acquired the land is not known. Nor is it clear that the land is in the possession of Maecenas either at the time when the events are represented as occurring or at the later time when the garden god tells the story. The spot cannot be thought of as still in use for burial, since the figure of Priapus stands there, and, on the other hand, the gathering of bones (vs. 22) and the selection of the spot by two witches as a place for incantations is scarcely compatible with its being a private garden. Apparently the events are thought of as having occurred while the transformation from burial-place to garden was still incomplete. Verses 14–16 allude to a later stage, but it is strange that there should be no direct allusion to Maecenas, to whom in later satires Horace refers with such evident pride and pleasure, if he already owned the land and had built his great house there.

The satire evidently belongs in the same period as Epodes 5 and 17, and seems to be referred to in vss. 47, 55 and 77 of the latter Epode. But neither of these poems can be dated with certainty. In the

absence of *data*, on the general grounds of tone and manner — the lack of real humor, the coarseness, the cynicism — the satire may be placed with 2 and 7 of this book in the group of earlier writings.

The fact that the speaker is the figure of the garden god Priapus gives to the satire a certain resemblance to the *Priapea*, of which we have a collection, but in substance this is a satire upon the kind of incantations described by Vergil in Eclogue 8. On the personal side it is an attack upon a certain Canidia, who is also savagely attacked in Epode 5 and ironically ridiculed in Epode 17, and who is mentioned in several places in the Satires and Epistles. The scholiast says that her real name was Gratidia, that she was a seller of drugs, a witch and a poisoner. How much of this is fact we do not know, but undoubtedly a real person is referred to under the name. The hostility with which Horace pursues her is distinctly unpleasant, and this poem and Epodes 5 and 17 reveal him on his least admirable side.

Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
cum faber, incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum,
maluit esse deum. Deus inde ego, furum aviumque
maxima formido; nam fures dextra coercet
obscaenoque ruber porrectus ab inguine palus;
ast importunas volucres in vertice arundo
terret fixa vetatque novis considere in hortis.
Huc prius angustis eiecta cadavera cellis
conservus vili portanda locabat in arca;

1. **Olim truncus eram**: the contrast between roughness of the figure and the fact that it was supposed to represent a god is not infrequently alluded to in Priapus poems. — **inutile**: the wood of the fig-tree splits easily.

2. **Priapum**: the statue was set up originally to represent the god of fertility, but was generally interpreted as a kind of scarecrow, who frightened away thieves and birds.

3. **Deus inde ego**: humorously emphasizing his claim to divinity, immediately after the acknowledgment that he owed it to a workman.

4. **dextra**: the right hand held a club or a sickle.

6. **arundo**: the reed was moved by the wind.

8–9. **angustis . . . cellis**: the small chambers which they had occupied while alive. — **conservus**: the master paid no attention to

hoc miserae plebi stabat commune sepulchrum,
Pantolabo scurrae Nomentanoque nepoti:
mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
hic dabat, heredes monumentum ne sequeretur.
Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus atque
aggere in aprico spatiari, quo modo tristes
albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum;
cum mihi non tantum furesque feraeque, suetae
hunc vexare locum, curae sunt atque labori,
quantum carminibus quae versant atque venenis

the death of a slave. — **locabat**: not *placed*, but *contracted for* the burial with the undertakers. — **arca**: the box in which the body was carried to the burial-place. — These details are pathetic to the modern reader, but it is not likely that Horace felt the pathos or intended to express it. His tone is rather hard and cynical.

11. This verse is probably Lucilian, though the scholiast gives an account of the man who was called by the nickname Pantolabus.

12–13. **in fronte, in agrum**: technical terms in surveying, like the English '1000 feet front, 300 feet deep'; usage varies between the acc. and the abl. and Horace has used both cases. — **cippus**: a stone pillar on which the dimensions of the plot of ground were inscribed, followed often by the letters H. M. H. N. S., *hoc monumentum heredes ne sequatur* (or *non sequitur*), meaning that the lot and tombstone shall not be considered a part of the estate and shall therefore not pass to the heirs, but shall remain perpetually a burial-place.

14. **salubribus**: predicate; it had been before especially unhealthy.

15. **aggere**: the Mound of Servius Tullius, the old wall of earth that surrounded the smaller early city. — **quo**: the absence of a preposition is perhaps to be explained by the nearness of *in aprico*; there seems to be no good parallel for *quo* in the sense of *ubi*. — **tristes**: predicate; *depressed* by the sight.

17. **cum**: *while* I, in contrast to their leisurely strolling (*spatiari*), have only care and trouble. — **ferae**: the wolves and vultures (*Epod.* 5, 99 f.) that fed upon the unburied bodies. — **suetae**: in three syllables.

19. **quae**: the antecedent is the subj. of *sunt curae*, to be supplied. — **versant**: *affect*, *move*.

humanos animos. Has nullo perdere possum
nec prohibere modo, simul ac vaga luna decorum
protulit os, quin ossa legant herbasque nocentis.
Vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere palla
Canidiam pedibus nudis passoque capillo,
cum Sagana maiore ululantem. Pallor utrasque
fecerat horrendas aspectu. Scalpere terram
unguibus et pullam divellere mordicus agnam
coeperunt; cruor in fossam confusus, ut inde
manis elicerent, animas responsa daturas.
Lanea et effigies erat, altera cerea: maior
lanea, quae poenis compesceret inferiorem;
cerea suppliciter stabat servilibus, ut quae
iam peritura, modis. Hecaten vocat altera, saevam

21. **simul ac**: at the time of full moon; the phases of the moon have always been considered potent in the working of spells.

22. **ossa, herbas**: for use in the magic rites.

23 f. **Vidi egomet**: with these words Priapus begins the story which is the real subject of the satire. The details of Canidia's dress and appearance are conventional, the gown girded up, the black robe, the bare feet and flowing hair. They are repeated in Ovid's description of Medea, *Metam.* 7, 182 f.

25. **Sagana**: mentioned again in *Epod.* 5, 25. — **maiore**: *the elder* of two sisters. — **ululantem**: regularly of the cries of women; *Aen.* 2, 488. — **Pallor**: the witches shared the horror of the scene.

26. **Scalpere terram**: to make the *fossa* into which the blood of the victim was allowed to flow.

27. **unguibus, mordicus**: these details are added to heighten the horrors of the rites.

29. **responsa**: in the scene in the lower world, Hom. *Od.* 11, 36 ff., the shades come to drink of the blood, and the Theban seer, Tiresias, prophesies to Odysseus. Cf. also the Introd. to *Sat.* 2, 5.

30–33. **effigies**: in Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 80 f., one of the figures is of clay, the other of wax. The one which is not affected by heat represents the person for whose benefit the rites are performed; the waxen image represents the person who is to be subdued and melted with love. The dominion of the one is expressed in *poenis compesceret*,

altera Tisiphonen ; serpentis atque videres
infernas errare canes, Lunamque rubentem,
ne foret his testis, post magna latere sepulchra.
Mentior at si quid, merdis caput inquiner albis
corvorum, atque in me veniat mictum atque cacatum
Iulius et fragilis Pediatia furque Voranus.
Singula quid memorem ? quo pacto alterna loquentes
umbrae cum Sagana resonarent triste et acutum,
utque lupi barbam variae cum dente colubrae
abdiderint furtim terris, et imagine cerea
largior arserit ignis, et ut non testis inultus
horruerim voces Furiarum et facta duarum :
nam, displosa sonat quantum vesica, pepedi
diffissa nate ficus : at illae currere in urbem ;
Canidiae dentes, altum Saganae caliendrum
excidere atque herbas atque incantata lacertis
vincula cum magno risuque iocoque videres.

the submission of the other in *inferiorem*, *suppliciter*, *servilibus modis* (like a slave), *iam peritura*.

35. **infernas**: of the lower world, such as followed Hecate.

36. **magna . . . sepulchra**: such great tombs as stood, and in part still stand in ruins, along the Appian Way, south of the city.

40 f. **alterna**: Sagana asked questions and the shades answered. — **acutum**: in the thin voice of the dead, *Aen.* 6, 492 f.

42. **lupi barbam**: cf. *Macbeth*, IV. 1, 'Fillet of a fenny snake,' and 'Scale of dragon, tooth of wolf,' which were put into the witches' cauldron.

44. **largior**: the fire burned brighter as the waxen image melted into the flame.

48. **dentes**: *i.e.* false teeth. — **caliendrum**: a wig or structure of false hair. The witches are represented as hags who tried to conceal the ravages of age.

49. **incantata**: tied on with magic rites; a formula had been uttered as the bands were fastened about their arms. This had not been alluded to before, but *licia*, *threads*, were used in Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 73.

50. **risuque iocoque**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 98, *dedit risusque iocosque*. — **videres**: indefinite second person, especially frequent with this verb, *e.g. Sat.* 1, 5, 76.

# 9

This satire was written between 38 and 35 B.C., later than the first group, Satires 2, 7, and 8, but before Satire 1 and probably before 10. There is no allusion which makes a more precise dating possible and, as is usually the case where distinct allusions are lacking, there is nothing in the satire which would gain in interpretation if a more precise date could be fixed.

In form the satire is an account of a morning walk in which Horace was joined by a mere acquaintance, who desired to cultivate a closer intimacy with him, in order, as finally appeared, to secure through him an introduction to Maecenas. Various attempts to shake him off were unsuccessful and an appeal to a passing friend was without effect, until chance intervened to save the poet. In grace and lightness of tone the satire is equaled only by some of the odes. The struggle between politeness and the desire to be free, the humorous consciousness of the joke upon himself, the happily conceived dramatic form, reaching a climax in the encounter with Fuscus — all these make it unnecessary to look for an underlying purpose. But a secondary motive was doubtless the opportunity which the story afforded of returning to the theme of the sixth satire and of showing again how ill-founded was the suspicion that Horace was seeking social advancement through his acquaintance with Maecenas.

Ibam forte Via Sacra, sicut meus est mos,
nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis:
accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum,

1. **Via Sacra**: the principal street of the city, running from the Esquiline past the Palatine, along one side of the Forum. It was the street which Horace would naturally take in going from the residence part of the city to the Tiber. — **sicut . . . mos**: cf. 1, 6, 112, 122; with *ibam*, not with *meditans*.

2. **nugarum**: *verses;* almost a technical term for light lyric poems, *e.g.* Catull. 1, 4. — **totus**: so *omnis in hoc sum*, *Epist.* 1, 1, 11.

3. **notus . . . tantum**: *i.e.* a mere acquaintance. The person cannot be identified, nor is it at all likely that Horace had in mind a definite individual or was recounting the events of an actual experience. His purpose was rather to draw a typical picture of the Social Struggler, without direct reference to any individual.

arreptaque manu, 'Quid agis, dulcissime rerum?'
'suaviter, ut nunc est,' inquam, 'et cupio omnia quae vis.'
Cum adsectaretur, 'Numquid vis?' occupo. At ille 'Noris nos' inquit; 'docti sumus.' Hic ego 'Pluris hoc' inquam 'mihi eris.' Misere discedere quaerens,

4. **arrepta**: *seizing my hand*, with a show of cordiality and intimacy. — **dulcissime rerum**: *my dearest fellow;* a very familiar form of greeting. *rerum* is frequently used as a generalizing addition, especially with a superlative. It is of the same nature as the use of a gen. plur. with a neut. sing. pron., *quidquid hominum.*

5. The reply is made up of polite phrases which, from the frequency of their use, are mere formulas with no more meaning than the English 'Very well, thank you; I hope you are well.' — **ut nunc est**: *all things considered, as times go.* — **cupio . . . vis**: a common phrase of politeness, which appears in various forms in dialogue.

6. **adsectaretur**: after speaking the words of vs. 5, Horace started to walk on. — **Numquid vis**: a common phrase used in taking leave of another person; *formula abeundi*, Donatus calls it. It is very frequently used in Plautus and Terence. — **occupo**: *i.e.* he got in the words *numquid vis?* before the other could reply, as a hint that he wished to go on.

7. **Noris**: = *noveris*. Ordinarily the phrase *numquid vis?* expects no reply, but occasionally (*Trin.* 192, *Capt.* 191, *M. G.* 575) the person addressed takes the question literally, as here, and replies with a verb in the subjv., as if with *volo;* 'yes, there is; I should like to have you make my acquaintance.' — **docti sumus**: 'I'm a literary man,' 'I'm a man of culture.' *doctus* was used especially of the newer school of poets, those who followed the Alexandrian models; it became a kind of party cry, employed by the new school as a term of honor and by their opponents as a term of ridicule. Horace was distinctly of the opposite school (cf. *Sat.* 1, 10, 19) and the person is therefore represented as offering, as an inducement to further acquaintance, a reason which would, in fact, lead Horace to avoid him.

7 f. **Pluris hoc . . . eris**: *I shall value you all the more for that, i.e.* 'because you are *doctus*'; politeness struggles with irony.

8. **Misere**: *awfully;* so below, 14; a colloquialism, very frequent in Plautus and Terence.

ire modo ocius, interdum consistere, in aurem
dicere nescio quid puero, cum sudor ad imos
manaret talos. 'O te, Bolane, cerebri
felicem!' aiebam tacitus; cum quidlibet ille
garriret, vicos, urbem laudaret. Vt illi
nil respondebam, 'Misere cupis' inquit 'abire;
iamdudum video; sed nil agis; usque tenebo;
persequar. Hinc quo nunc iter est tibi?' 'Nil opus est te
circumagi; quendam volo visere non tibi notum;
trans Tiberim longe cubat is, prope Caesaris hortos.'
'Nil habeo quod agam, et non sum piger; usque sequar te.'
Demitto auriculas, ut iniquae mentis asellus,

10. **puero**: his attendant, *pedisequus*, to whom he pretends to give some private orders. — **dicere**: historical infin., as are *ire* and *consistere* — **sudor**: as all his efforts to escape fail.

11. **Bolane**: a man of hot temper, who would not have been long restrained by a sense of courtesy. — **cerebri**: for the gen., cf. *integer vitae;* for the meaning, cf. *cerebrosus*, *Sat.* 1, 5, 21.

13. **vicos, urbem laudaret**: *i.e.* talked cheerfully about trifles, endeavoring to lead Horace into conversation.

14 ff. As Horace's lack of cordiality is too obvious to be ignored, the persistent man attempts to joke about it, hoping in this way to extract a disclaimer. — **nil agis**: colloquial; *it's no use.*

17 f. **circumagi**: *of your being dragged around.* — **visere**: *to call upon.* This is, of course, an invention of the moment, elaborated in the following words, in which the details are given in the order in which they occur to him: 'across the Tiber — a long way off — he's sick in bed, too — way over by Caesar's Gardens.' Cf. the similar embarrassed search for an excuse in Catull. 10, 28 ff. — **Caesaris hortos**: an estate on the Janiculum, left by Caesar's will to the Roman people, to be a public park.

20 f. **Demitto auriculas**: a condensed way of saying 'I felt like an ill-treated donkey, whose ears drop down when he is overloaded.' **dorso**: abl. with *subiit*, as in *Aen.* 2, 708, *subito umeris.* — **subiit**: the subj. is *asellus; onus* is the object.

cum gravius dorso subiit onus. Incipit ille:
'Si bene me novi, non Viscum pluris amicum,
non Varium facies; nam quis me scribere pluris
aut citius possit versus? quis membra movere
mollius? invideat quod et Hermogenes, ego canto.'
Interpellandi locus hic erat: 'Est tibi mater,

The final syllable is long, as frequently in the perf. indic. in Plautus.

**22. Si bene me novi**: a condition in form only; *as sure as I know myself.* — **Viscum**: there were two brothers of this name, both literary men and friends of Horace and Maecenas. They are mentioned with honor in *Sat.* 1, 10, 83 and one of them was a guest at the dinner described in *Sat.* 2, 8. — **Varium**: see note on 1, 5, 40.

**23 ff.** To any one who knew Horace well — and this satire is intended especially for the amusement of his intimate friends — it would be plain that the selection of these three accomplishments as recommendations to his favor was, like the mention of *doctus* in vs. 7, a most comical blunder. He particularly disliked rapid and profuse verse writing (cf. 1, 4, 11 ff., 17 f.); he regarded dancing as scarcely decent (*Sat.* 2, 1, 24 f.); and his opinion of singing in general and of Hermogenes in particular is plainly implied in *Sat.* 1, 3, 1 ff. — The prose order of the last phrase would be *ego canto quod et Hermogenes invideat.*

**26 ff. Interpellandi locus**: *here was my chance to break in.* The context shows that Horace had invented, as he hoped, a new expedient for getting rid of his persevering friend, but the exact nature of the plan is not at first sight apparent. The use of *interpellandi* shows that it was not connected with the remarks in vs. 22–25; the words *quis* [=*quibus*] *te salvo est opus* must mean that he was going to point out some serious danger which would be incurred in accompanying him, and the mention of dependent relatives is an elaborate provision to anticipate a possible declaration from the other that he did not fear danger. All these combine to indicate that Horace was preparing to say that the friend on whom he was going to call had a contagious disease, exposure to which would be almost certainly fatal. It is an added touch of humor that Horace represents himself as so discouraged by the first slight failure — for the dependent relatives were not essential to the plan — that he surrendered in despair.

cognati, quis te salvo est opus?' 'Haud mihi quisquam;
omnis composui.' 'Felices! Nunc ego resto;
confice; namque instat fatum mihi triste, Sabella
quod puero cecinit divina mota anus urna:
"Hunc neque dira venena, nec hosticus auferet ensis
nec laterum dolor aut tussis, nec tarda podagra;
garrulus hunc quando consumet cumque; loquaces,
si sapiat, vitet, simul atque adoleverit aetas."'
Ventum erat ad Vestae, quarta iam parte diei
praeterita, et casu tunc respondere vadato
debebat; quod ni fecisset, perdere litem.
'Si me amas,' inquit, 'paulum hic ades.' 'Interea, si

28–34. These lines express his emotions, but were of course not spoken aloud.

28. **Nunc ego resto**: *i.e.* 'my turn next; finish me off, too.'

29. **Sabella**: with *anus*. There are various references to the superstitions of the peasants in the mountains away from the influence of the city.

30. **divina mota . . . urna**: abl. abs.; *shaking the lots in her urn*, until one of them fell out.

31–34. The epic-oracular style is parodied in *dira*, the plur. *venena*, *hosticus*, *ensis*, in the transferred epithet *tarda*. — **laterum dolor**: *pleurisy*. — **quando . . . cumque**: tmesis; *some time or other*.

35 f. **Ventum erat**: the plupf. implies *by this time*, 'while all this was going on.' — **ad Vestae**; *sc. templum*, as in English *St. Paul's*, *St. Mary's*. The temple of Vesta was at the lower end of the Forum and the law courts were near it. — **quarta . . . praeterita**: *i.e.* about nine o'clock. This has been held to be inconsistent with 1, 6, 122, *ad quartam iaceo; post hanc vagor*, but it is obvious that neither statement is meant to be taken precisely. The only reason for mentioning the hour here is to show that the courts were open for business and so to introduce the next scene in the little drama. — **respondere**: a technical term of law; *to appear in court*. — **vadato**: apparently an impersonal abl. abs. like *sortito*, *auspicato*; *under bonds*, *having given a bond*.

38. **Si mĕ amas**: monosyllabic hiatus with shortening of the long vowel; this is very common in Plautus, but only under the ictus. The words are a mere phrase of politeness to soften the urgency of the imperative; 'will you be so

aut valeo stare aut novi civilia iura;
et propero quo scis.' 'Dubius sum quid faciam,' inquit,
'tene relinquam an rem.' 'Me, sodes.' 'Non faciam,' ille,
et praecedere coepit. Ego, ut contendere durum est
cum victore, sequor. 'Maecenas quomodo tecum?'
hinc repetit; 'paucorum hominum et mentis bene sanae.
Nemo dexterius fortuna est usus; haberes

kind as to . . .' — **ades**: in the technical sense, to be present in court as a supporting friend and adviser, *advocatus*. The same request is made to Horace in *Sat.* 2, 6, 34 f. — **Inteream**: *I'll be hanged*. So Catull. 92, 4, *dispeream nisi amo*.

39. **valeo stare**: *am strong enough to stand*, as was customary in the praetor's court. The excuse is of course quite inconsistent with *propero quo scis*, but Horace represents himself as having reached a point where he was careless of either consistency or truth.

41. **rem**: *my case*, which would go by default, if he failed to appear. — **sodes**: = *si audes*, *please*, *if you please*, used like *sis* (= *si vis*, *Sat.* 1, 4, 14 n.) to soften an imperative. *Audeo* (from *aveo*, *avidus*, *avideo*) regularly means *to wish*, *desire*, in Plautus; the meaning *to venture*, *dare*, is later.

43. **Maecenas quomodo tecum**: *how do you and Maecenas get on together?* The pride which Horace felt in the friendship of Maecenas and the strength of his determination that the friendship should remain disinterested render this question peculiarly offensive.

44. **hinc repetit**: *with this he begins again*, after the slight pause. — **paucorum . . . sanae**: *a man of few friends and of very sound judgment* (cf. Ter. *Eun.* 408 f., *sic homost; perpaucorum hominum*); there are various references to the care with which Maecenas selected the limited number of friends whom he admitted to intimacy; but the best commentaries on these words are *Sat.* 1, 6, 51 f., *praesertim cautum dignos assumere, prava ambitione procul*, with the account, which follows, of Horace's introduction, and the general remarks in *Sat.* 1, 3, 58 ff., summarized in *pro bene sano ac non incauto fictum astutumque vocamus*.

45. **Nemo . . . usus**: *i.e.* 'you've been very lucky and very skillful, too, in the way you have used your chances to get into the circle of his friends.' This is the same

magnum adiutorem, posset qui ferre secundas,
hunc hominem velles si tradere; dispeream, ni
summosses omnis.' 'Non isto vivimus illic
quo tu rere modo; domus hac nec purior ulla est
nec magis his aliena malis; nil mi officit, inquam,
ditior hic aut est quia doctior; est locus uni
cuique suus.' 'Magnum narras, vix credibile!' 'Atqui

suggestion that Horace vehemently repudiates in *Sat.* 1, 6, 52 ff.; *fortuna* here expresses briefly what is there emphasized in *felicem*, *casu*, *sortitus*, *fors*. But the idea in *dexterius usus* is an addition which prepares the way for the proposal in the next sentence: 'you have shown yourself a skillful wire-puller; now bring me into the game to help you and you'll complete your victory.'

[The difficulty which all commentators, beginning with the scholiasts, have felt in interpreting these lines and in assigning them to the speakers is due, I think, to the fact that Horace is not reporting the whole conversation, but is giving only the main points, omitting, especially in 44 f., the connecting links of the thought. This is a favorite method with him (*e.g. Sat.* 1, 4, 52 ff., 85 ff., 1, 6, 17–25) and it suits perfectly the informal style of the *Sermones*, but it sometimes leaves the thought insufficiently expressed. In this passage, between the desire to suggest the subject of the remarks and the desire to suppress the details, with their low estimate of Maecenas and of himself, he has suppressed too much.]

46. **secundas**: *sc. partes;* the second actor on the stage should support the leading actor.

47. **hunc hominem**: colloquial for *me;* with jocular purpose like 'your humble servant,' 'the undersigned.' — **dispeream, ni**: cf. the line of Catullus, quoted above.

48. **summosses**: = *summovisses*; cf. *surrexe*, 73. The plupf. looks forward to the completion of the process.

48–52. This is the longest speech that Horace makes in the whole conversation, as though he felt the insinuations in 44–48 to be unbearable without the most earnest and explicit denial. — **aliena**: *free from;* but *malis* is, grammatically, a dative. — **inquam**: *I tell you;* the insertion of this in the midst of his words adds to the earnestness.

52 f. **Magnum . . . credibile**: the offensive incredulity betrays the character of the speaker. — **Atqui sic habet**: *it's so, anyhow.*

sic habet.' 'Accendis, quare cupiam magis illi
proximus esse.' 'Velis tantummodo: quae tua virtus,
55 expugnabis; et est qui vinci possit, eoque
difficilis aditus primos habet.' 'Haud mihi dero:
muneribus servos corrumpam; non, hodie si
exclusus fuero, desistam; tempora quaeram,
occurram in triviis, deducam. Nil sine magno
60 vita labore dedit mortalibus.' Haec dum agit ecce
Fuscus Aristius occurrit, mihi carus et illum
qui pulchre nosset. Consistimus. 'Vnde venis et
quo tendis?' rogat et respondet. Vellere coepi
et prensare manu lentissima brachia, nutans,

After permitting himself some warmth of expression, Horace falls back upon short answers.

54–56. **Velis tantummodo**: *you have only to wish it.* — **virtus**: with the underlying sense of 'impudence,' 'pushing determination.' Horace represents himself as returning from the earnestness of 48 ff. and the curtness of 52 f. to the ironical attitude, with a pleasant anticipation of seeing Maecenas attacked next. To further the joke he adds the encouraging words of 55 f.: 'if you find that he makes it a little hard at first, that will be only because he is conscious of his weakness.'

56. **dero**: = deero.

59 f. **deducam**: *escort him* from his house to the Forum, a mark of respect to men of eminence. Cicero mentions *deduci*, *reduci* among the attentions paid to old men. — **Nil . . . mortalibus**: a maxim of proverbial philosophy, by which the social struggler encourages himself to renewed efforts.

61. **Fuscus Aristius**: *Carm.* 1, 22, *Integer vitae* and *Epist.* 1, 10, are addressed to him. He is mentioned in *Sat.* 1, 10, 83, among Horace's most valued friends. The varying tradition of the scholiasts calls him *grammaticus* (*i.e.* a literary critic) and a writer of plays.

62 f. **pulchre**: colloquial, like *belle*, *valide*, *misere*. — **qui . . . nosset**: a characterizing clause, parallel to the adj. *carus*; 'and perfectly well acquainted with my companion.' — **Vnde . . . tendis**: *i.e.* the usual questions are asked and answered. So *Sat.* 2, 4, 1, *unde et quo Catius?*

63 f. **vellere**: *to pull his toga.* — **lentissima**: *unfeeling*; *i.e.* Fuscus gave no sign that he understood what Horace wanted.

distorquens oculos, ut me eriperet. Male salsus
ridens dissimulare; meum iecur urere bilis.
'Certe nescio quid secreto velle loqui te
aiebas mecum.' 'Memini bene, sed meliore
tempore dicam; hodie tricesima sabbata: vin tu
curtis Iudaeis oppedere?' 'Nulla mihi,' inquam,
'religio est.' 'At mi; sum paulo infirmior, unus
multorum. Ignosces; alias loquar.' Huncine solem
tam nigrum surrexe mihi! Fugit improbus ac me
sub cultro linquit. Casu venit obvius illi
adversarius, et, 'Quo tu, turpissime?' magna

65. **Male salsus**: *the wretched joker*. The *Integer vitae* is evidence that he loved a joke.

66. **ridens**: *i.e.* with the exasperating smile of a friend who perceived nothing unusual in the situation. The rest of the line points the contrast; 'but I, for my part, was in a perfect fury.' — **iecur . . . bilis**: the supposed seat of the emotions, as the heart in modern times.

68. **Memini bene**: the reply is intended to show that Fuscus understood perfectly that Horace was inventing the engagement.

69. **tricesima sabbata**: this and the illusion to circumcision (*curtis*) show a surprising knowledge on Horace's part of Jewish customs, but it is not possible to identify this with any known Jewish feast. Indeed, it would increase the humor of the solemn scruples of Fuscus, if we suppose the *tricesima sabbata* to be an invention of the moment.

70 f. **oppedere**: *insult*. — **Nulla . . . religio**: in the eagerness of desperation Horace is willing to declare that he hasn't a single religious scruple.

73. **surrexe** = *surrexisse;* the infin. in exclamation, either with or without *-ne*, is colloquial and is very common in Terence.

74. **sub cultro**: like a helpless victim under the uplifted knife of the priest.

75 ff. **adversarius**: his opponent in the suit which he had abandoned, vs. 41. If a party to a suit failed to appear, his opponent could summon him and, calling upon a bystander to act as witness, could take him by force into court. The law of the XII Tables was 'si in ius vocat, ito, ni it (if he does not come), antestamino (call a witness); igitur, em (= eum) capito.' The question *licet antestari?*

inclamat voce, et 'Licet antestari?' Ego vero
oppono auriculam. Rapit in ius; clamor utrimque,
undique concursus. Sic me servavit Apollo.

is addressed to Horace and his assent was expressed, according to the legal procedure, by allowing the other person to touch his ear. The short sentences hurry the scene to its conclusion.

78. **Apollo**, as the guardian of poetry and poets. The satire thus closes with a reminiscence of its opening lines, *nescio quid meditans nugarum*.

## 10

There are many allusions in this satire to persons and events, but none sufficiently definite to fix the date of composition. Evidently it was written after *Sat.* 4 and therefore after 2, 7, and 8, somewhere between 38 B.C. and 35. The large circle of friends whose names are mentioned in the closing lines would indicate a late date, and the general tone is that of an epilogue to the whole collection, as the first satire is an introduction to the whole. This interpretation also harmonizes with the last line of the satire (see notes).

'It is quite true that I said that Lucilius was a rough verse writer. His power as a satirist I acknowledge, but that alone does not make a poet. Many other qualities are necessary to a poetic style, brevity, variety, wit, such polished wit as is found in the Old Comedy, of which, indeed, some of my critics seem never to have heard. The mingling of Greek with Latin in Lucilius is not a merit, but a defect; no serious Roman writer mixes the two languages or writes in Greek at all.

'The grand style I leave to others to attempt, successfully or not. My aim is less ambitious. The fields of comedy and tragedy, of epic and bucolic poetry, are well occupied and I have turned to satire, not, however, to be the rival of Lucilius or to lessen his glory. But it is true that I have mentioned his defects, as he had noticed the defects of Ennius and Accius. The copiousness of Lucilius and his lack of finish are real defects, which, if he were writing now, he would himself perceive and correct.

'For finish of style appeals to the only public worth considering. Hermogenes may not like my work, but if Plotius and Varius, Maecenas and Vergil, approve, I need no other defence and can publish this book of satires without misgivings.'

In the fourth satire Horace had defended himself against the charge that he was malicious and was seeking notoriety. The reply was in general direct and convincing, but in the course of his argument he happened to say (vss. 6–13) that his prototype, Lucilius, had written too profusely and with too little attention to finish. This chance remark — which is abundantly justified by the extant fragments of Lucilius — had brought upon him some censure from that school of literary critics in Rome whose cardinal doctrine was the excellence of the early Latin poetry, and had at the same time exposed him to the less sincere attacks of others who seized the opportunity to renew their personal and unfriendly criticisms. This satire is a reply to both classes. To the serious admirers of early Latin poetry he replies with a serious discussion of the nature and causes of the defects of Lucilius and with candid praise of his merits. To the little clique of personal enemies he scarcely replies at all, brushing them aside with contemptuous brevity and twitting them (17–19) with their ignorance of the very poetry about which they were pretending to be solicitous.

Prefixed to the text of this satire in some Mss. are eight verses: —

> Lucili, quam sis mendosus, teste Catone,
> defensore tuo, pervincam, qui male factos
> emendare parat versos; hoc lenius ille,
> quo vir est melior, longe subtilior illo,
> qui multum puer et loris et funibus udis
> exhortatus, ut esset opem qui ferre poetis
> antiquis posset contra fastidia nostra,
> grammaticorum equitum doctissimus. Vt redeam illuc:

These lines contain Horatian phrases (cf. *loris et funibus* with *Epod.* 4, 3, *Epist.* 1, 16, 47) and opinions (cf. vs. 7 with *Epist.* 2, 1, 18 ff.); the reference to P. Valerius Cato, though not exactly identical with the statement in Sueton. *de Gram.* 2, is a similar bit of grammatical tradition; the satirical allusion in vss. 5 ff. is obscure and contradictory, but comes evidently from the same school of literary and personal gossip; the phrasing is stiff (*hoc lenius ille*, *ille* and *illo* referring to different persons, the apposition of *doctissimus* to *qui*), and the joining of the lines to vs. 1 of the satire by the words *ut redeam illuc* is very awkward. These facts all point to one conclusion, that the verses were written by a grammarian who saw in the abruptness of *nempe dixi* an opportunity to perpetuate a bit of his own learned satire by prefixing it to the text of Horace.

Nempe incomposito dixi pede currere versus
Lucili. Quis tam Lucili fautor inepte est
ut non hoc fateatur? At idem, quod sale multo
urbem defricuit, charta laudatur eadem.
Nec tamen, hoc tribuens, dederim quoque cetera;
nam sic
et Laberi mimos ut pulchra poemata mirer.
Ergo non satis est risu diducere rictum

1. **Nempe**: *yes, I did say*, with intentional abruptness, as if in immediate reply to a critic. — **incomposito . . . pede currere**: the exact words are *durus componere versus*, *Sat.* 1, 4, 8, and *cum flueret lutulentus*, 1, 4, 11.

2. **fautor**: with a tinge of the meaning that it has in Plautus, *Amph.* 67, 78, *claqueur*, a man hired to applaud in the theater, so *partisan*. As a verbal noun in combination with *est* it takes the adv. *inepte*. — **tam**: with *inepte*.

3 f. **idem . . . eadem**: emphasizing the adversative connection expressed in *at*; so in English *but at the same time*. — **sale multo defricuit . . .** *scoured down the city with strong brine*. Individually the words are to be taken in their literal sense, but the phrase as a whole implies the common comparison of wit to salt. — **charta**: *i.e.* in the same satire; cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 104 and *membrana*, *Sat.* 2, 3, 2.

5. **sic**: *on that principle, by such reasoning*, *i.e.* if it were granted that wit alone made poetry.

6. **Laberi**: Decimus Laberius was a knight, who had died some ten years before the date of this satire. He was one of two or three successful writers of mimes, popular farces which were put into literary form in the Ciceronian period. About 150 lines or fragments from Laberius are preserved (see Ribbeck, *Com. Rom. Fragm.*[2], pp. 279 ff.), including a large part of the prologue spoken by Laberius when he was compelled by Caesar to act in one of his own farces. Some of the lines of this are well known: —

Ego bís tricenis ánnis actis síne nota
Equés Romanus é Lare egressús meo
Domúm revertar mímus.

Necésse est multos tímeat quem multí timent.

But such farces were of course not *pulchra poemata*.

7. **Ergo**: the mere mention of Laberius is enough to prove that witty verse is not necessarily poetry. — **diducere rictum**: a slightly contemptuous colloquialism; *to make your hearer grin*.

auditoris — et est quaedam tamen hic quoque virtus;
est brevitate opus, ut currat sententia neu se
impediat verbis lassas onerantibus auris;
et sermone opus est modo tristi, saepe iocoso,
defendente vicem modo rhetoris atque poetae,
interdum urbani, parcentis viribus atque
extenuantis eas consulto. Ridiculum acri

8. **et . . . virtus**: a concession in the form of a parenthetic statement.

9 ff. In these lines Horace again discusses the nature of satire, as he had already done in *Sat.* 1, 4, 39-61. This argument, however, since its main purpose is to justify the criticism of Lucilius, is less general and only those qualities are mentioned in which it is implied that Lucilius was lacking. These are specifications under the general statement *durus componere versus* and are, in form, two in number — brevity and variety. But the idea of variety is expressed by contrasting two styles, the serious and the light, and the contrast is carried on through vs. 15; in a very general way *tristi*, *rhetoris atque poetae* and *acri* express one side, and *iocoso*, *urbani*, and *ridiculum* the other. The implication, however, is not merely that Lucilius was monotonous, but also and especially that he lacked the lighter and more polished forms of wit. The quality of *urbanitas* is therefore brought into greater prominence both by the definition *parcentis*, *extenuantis*, and by the carrying over of the thought into the next sentence. The reference to the Old Comedy, as a standard of polished wit, is then used to clinch the argument, as in *Sat.* 1, 4 it had been used to open it.

9. **brevitate**: that condensation of style which is secured by the selection of words that carry the meaning adequately (*ut currat sententia*) and by the avoidance of commonplace and meaningless phrases. The quality is admirably exemplified by Horace in the *Odes*, *e.g.* 1, 5; 1, 24; 1, 31.

12. **defendente vicem**: *playing the part*, using the dignified and serious style of the orator or poet. Horace has also *partes defendere*, *A. P.* 193 f., and *vice fungi*, *A. P.* 304. Strictly *defendente* should agree, not with *sermone* but with some word like *scriptore*.

13. **urbani**: first used as a technical term of rhetoric by Cicero. — **parcentis viribus**: expressed in *Epist.* 1, 9, 9 by *dissimulator opis propriae*.

fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.
Illi, scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est,
hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi; quos neque pulcher
Hermogenes umquam legit, neque simius iste
nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.
'At magnum fecit, quod verbis Graeca Latinis
miscuit.' O seri studiorum! quine putetis
difficile et mirum, Rhodio quod Pitholeonti

15. **secat**: *decides, settles.* Cicero, expressing the same thought (*de Orat.* 2, 58, 236), uses *dissolvit*.

16. An intentional repetition of 1, 4, 2, in order to remind the reader that Horace is maintaining the opinion there expressed.

17 **ff.** 'But the men who are pretending to be so disturbed by my criticism of Lucilius know nothing of the best standards or even of the earlier Latin writers.' — **pulcher**: the point of applying this adj. to Hermogenes is not known, but it is meant to contrast with *simius*. — **simius**: the scholiast says that this is Demetrius, mentioned also in vs. 90.

19. **Calvum**: C. Licinius Calvus, the orator and poet, an intimate friend of Catullus. He had a high, perhaps an exaggerated, reputation with his contemporaries. — **Catullum**: C. Valerius Catullus, one of the four great Roman poets, inferior to Horace in sanity and judgment, but superior in spontaneity and brilliancy. This is the only allusion to him in Horace, and, while the contempt is directed against *simius iste*, it cannot be denied that the allusion is slighting in tone.

20. **Graeca Latinis**: to judge by the extant fragments the Greek words are sometimes technical terms, sometimes quotations, and only occasionally used for comic effect. Lucilius himself ridicules the use of Greek words in common conversation (vss. 88–94, Marx).

21. **seri studiorum**: a translation of ὀψιμαθεῖς, men who have just learned something that everybody else has known before and who parade their new knowledge. — **qui-ne**: nom. plur. The appending of *-ne* to a relative is not unfrequent. Translate *oh, pedants, to think . . .* [I will not add to the mass of commentary on this passage, but will refer to *A.J.P.* XI, 1 (41), pp. 17–19, and Schmalz, *B. Ph. W.*, 1907, Sp. 1292.]

22. **Pitholeonti**: probably Pitholaus, a barely known writer of epigrams. The context supplies all that is necessary to understand the point; he used Greek words in his verse and yet was so poor a

contigit? 'At sermo lingua concinnus utraque
suavior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est.'
Cum versus facias, te ipsum percontor, an et cum
dura tibi peragenda rei sit causa Petilli?'
scilicet oblitus patriaeque patrisque Latini
cum Pedius causas exsudet Poplicola atque
Corvinus, patriis intermiscere petita

poet that the mere mention of his name is an argument. Cf. the similar condensed argument in vs. 6.

23 f. **concinnus**: *blended*; the word anticipates the following comparison. — **nota**: *label, brand*; the mark attached to the *amphora* to tell the vintage. — **Chio, Falerni**: a slight flavor of the sweet Greek wines was thought to improve the native Falernian; cf. *Carm.* 1, 20, 2 f., where Horace speaks of putting his wine into a jug that had held Greek wine.

25 f. 'Are you not thinking too exclusively of verse writing? Would you mix Greek with Latin if you were arguing a difficult case at law?' That is, the use of an occasional Greek word is an artifice of style which no one would employ in serious speech; cf. *vicem rhetoris*, vs. 12. — **versus facias**: *in your verse making*, with a slight tone of depreciation. The subjv. is used because the omitted main clause would be subjv., — *num sermo . . . suavior sit.* — **causa Petilli**: see note on *Sat.* 1, 4. 94.

27. **patrisque Latini**: *Father Latinus*, from whom our language gets its name. Cf. the reference to Quirinus, vs. 32.

28. **Pedius Poplicola**: perhaps a brother of Messalla (vs. 85), who had been adopted by Q. Pedius, a nephew of Julius Caesar. Almost nothing is known of him, but Horace uses him here as a type of the great lawyer.

29. **Corvinus**: M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, the friend of Tibullus and one of the important personages of the Augustus period, distinguished as an orator. It is known that he took special pains (*exsudet*) to preserve a pure Latin style, excluding Greek derivatives. — **intermiscere**; *to thrust in among*. This is the proper meaning of *intermiscere* with the dative, not merely *to mix together*; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 5, *sic tibi, . . . Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam*, 'not intermingle her waters with yours'; Livy, 4, 56, 3; 10, 20, 8. The sense is, 'would you actually be so forgetful of the very name of your country that, when Pedius and Corvinus are working

verba foris malis, Canusini more bilinguis?
atque ego cum Graecos facerem, natus mare citra,
versiculos, vetuit me tali voce Quirinus,
post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera:
'In silvam non ligna feras insanius, ac si
magnas Graecorum malis implere catervas.'
Turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona, dumque
defingit Rheni luteum caput, haec ego ludo,
quae neque in aede sonent certantia iudice Tarpa,

out a speech in pure Latin, you would wish to thrust in among their native words (*patriis*) your imported Greek phrases (*petita verba foris*)?' [This gives the sense which Bentley, interpreting the passage correctly, but not distinguishing *intermisceo* with the dat. from *misceo*, sought to get by supplying *eos*.]

30. **foris**: *from abroad*, from the Greek. — **Canusini bilinguis**: at Canusium and in Apulia generally both Greek and Latin (or, earlier, Oscan) were native languages, as both German and French are native in parts of Switzerland. This seemed odd to a Roman, who was obliged to learn Greek in school; probably, also, neither language was spoken in strict purity.

31. **atque ego**: 'I too once thought of making Greek verses, but Quirinus forbade it.' — **Quirinus**: the deified Romulus, as head of the Roman race. Cf. *Latini*, vs. 27.

33. **cum somnia vera**: this superstition is often referred to.

34. **In silvam . . . ligna**: proverbial, like γλαῦκ' ἐς Ἀθήνας, 'carrying coals to Newcastle.' — **ac si**: *than if*.

36 ff. The connection of thought is somewhat elliptical; 'giving up Greek, therefore, and leaving to others their high and mighty epics, I turn to a humbler style.' — **Alpinus**: this satirical side-stroke would have been immediately intelligible to Horace's contemporaries. Probably Alpinus is a nickname for M. Furius Bibaculus, the author of a poem on Gaul from which the bombastic line [*Iuppiter*], *hibernas cana nive conspuit Alpis* is quoted, *Sat.* 2, 5, 41. He wrote also an epic which included the killing of Memnon by Achilles, here alluded to with a play upon the double meaning of *iugulat*, 'murders.' The phrase *defingit . . . caput*, 'misshapes the muddy head of the Rhine,' contains a similar play upon some passage in the poem on Gaul, but the point is lost to us.

38. **aede**: called by the scholiasts *aedes Musarum*, a temple in

nec redeant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatris.
Arguta meretrice potes Davoque Chremeta
eludente senem comis garrire libellos
unus vivorum, Fundani; Pollio regum
facta canit pede ter percusso; forte epos acer,
ut nemo, Varius ducit; molle atque facetum
Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae.

which Sp. Maecius Tarpa, perhaps as public censor of plays and as head of the *collegium poetarum*, passed judgment upon new poetry. Tarpa is referred to with respect in *Ars Poet.* 387. — **sonent**: *resound*, as the poets read aloud their own verses; cf. 1, 4, 76.

40 ff. 'Other fields were already occupied, but satire was open to me.'

40 f. **meretrice, Davo, Chremeta**: typical figures in comedy; the commonest plot in Plautus and Terence is one in which a young man's confidential slave (*Davus*) with the help of his mistress (*meretrix*) deceives the father (*Chremeta senem*). The ablatives go with *eludente*, of which *Chremeta* is the object. — **comis libellos**: acc. of the inner object after *garrire*.

42. **Fundani**: unknown except by the references to him in *Sat.* 2, 8. — **Pollio**: C. Asinius Pollio, statesman, orator, and poet, one of the most distinguished men of his time. Vergil dedicated the Fourth Eclogue to him, and Horace addressed to him one of his finest odes (*Carm.* 2, 1). His writings are all lost, but his history of the Civil Wars was famous, and the tragedies here alluded to were highly esteemed.

43. **pede ter percusso**: iambic trimeter, the ordinary verse of tragedy, which has the heavy ictus on the first, third and fifth feet. — **forte, acer**: the two adjectives express the same quality from two sides, the *power* of epic poetry and the *lofty spirit* of the epic writer.

44. **ducit**: *shapes, fashions*, used of the work of the artist or poet. The three verbs, *garrire, canit, ducit*, are carefully selected. — **molle atque facetum**: *tenderness and elegance*. On *facetum* cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 7 n. Vergil had not yet written the *Aeneid* nor published the *Georgics;* he was the poet of the *Eclogues* and of the still lighter poems, which, with more or less doubt of their authenticity, have come down to us under his name.

45. **adnuĕrunt**: with short penult, as in a few places in Vergil.

Hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino
atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem,
inventore minor; neque ego illi detrahere ausim
haerentem capiti cum multa laude coronam.
At dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem
plura quidem tollenda relinquendis. Age, quaeso,
tu nihil in magno doctus reprehendis Homero?
nil comis tragici mutat Lucilius Acci?

46. **Hoc**: satire. — **Varrone**: M. Terentius Varro, called Atacinus from the river Atax, in southern Gaul, where he was born, to distinguish him from the great antiquarian and scholar of the same name. He wrote in several styles, but without marked success in any.

47. **quibusdam aliis**: it is not to be supposed that Horace stood alone in writing satire in the Augustan period; the names of some of the *alii* are known, but all knowledge of their writings is lost.

48 f. **inventore minor**: concessive; 'even though I fall short of Lucilius.' It was an accepted doctrine of literary history that Lucilius was the inventor of satire, that is, was the first to put it into hexameter and give it the distinct form which it thereafter retained. — The thought of these verses, 48–49, is connected with the preceding, *hoc erat . . . possem*, as if it was a natural consequence of his choice of satire. If it had been put into a separate sentence, it would have been strongly adversative; 'but I do not claim to be his equal nor desire to lessen his credit.'

50 f. **At dixi**: repeating with emphasis *dixi* of vs. 1. — **fluere**: the figure used in 1, 4, 11, as *tollenda* repeats *erat quod tollere velles*. — **relinquendis**: abl. after the compar. *plura*. The rubbish seemed often more in amount than the water which swept it along. But the figure is not very clearly conceived.

52. **doctus**: *with all your learning*; the word frequently implies a slur. The Alexandrians and their followers (the *docti*) criticized Homer freely.

53. **comis**: *genial, kindly*. The word is used as if it were quoted from the admirers of Lucilius, as below, vs. 65, and is selected for the partial contrast with *tragici*. — **mutat**: not actually, but by implication. — **Acci**: L. Accius, the greatest of the early writers of tragedy. Only fragments of his works are extant.

non ridet versus Enni gravitate minores,
cum de se loquitur non ut maiore reprensis?
Quid vetat et nosmet Lucili scripta legentis
quaerere, num illius, num rerum dura negarit
versiculos natura magis factos et euntis
mollius, ac si quis, pedibus quid claudere senis,
hoc tantum contentus, amet scripsisse ducentos
ante cibum versus, totidem cenatus; Etrusci
quale fuit Cassi rapido ferventius amni
ingenium, capsis quem fama est esse librisque
ambustum propriis. Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,

54 f. **gravitate minores**: *as inferior in dignity*, less dignified than the subject-matter demanded. The unrhythmical verse *sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret* Lucilius proposed to change to *horret et alget*. — **cum . . . loquitur**: *while at the same time* he claims no superiority for himself. — **reprensis**: *than those whom he criticized*, Accius and Ennius.

57. **quaerere**: the simplest conclusion of the argument would have been something like *Lucilium reprehendere*, but that is expanded and at the same time made milder by substituting *quaerere* with its dependent questions. — **num . . . num**: parallel questions, not alternative. — **rerum**: in the most general meaning, *circumstances*, including his difficult subject-matter and the imperfection of his times in verse-writing.

58. **magis factos**: *more polished*; *factus* is used in this sense by Cicero (*de Orat.* 3, 48, 184; *Brut.* 30) with a slight apology for the novelty of the use.

59 f. **ac si quis . . . contentus**: 'than a man would write if, content with merely getting what he had to say within six feet, he was in a hurry to . . .' — **pedibus senis**: a hexameter, *i.e.* merely making a verse that would scan. So in 1, 4, 40, *concludere versum*. — **claudere**: appos. of *hoc*.

61. **ante cibum . . . cenatus**: a humorous variant upon *stans pede in uno*, 1, 4, 10.

62 f. **Cassi**: nothing is known of him except what is implied here, that he was so prolific that his books and their cases (*capsis*) were sufficient for his funeral pile.

64. **Fuerit**: *suppose that Lucilius was*, *i.e.* 'granting, for the moment, that Lucilius was all you claim, genial and witty.'

comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem
quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor,
quamque poetarum seniorum turba; sed ille,
si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in aevum,
detereret sibi multa, recideret omne quod ultra
perfectum traheretur, et in versu faciendo
saepe caput scaberet, vivos et roderet unguis.
Saepe stilum vertas, iterum quae digna legi sint

**65. comis et urbanus**: these words describe one quality from two sides and are, like *comis* in vs. 53, a quotation; they are admitted with reserve, having been already denied by implication (vs. 13), in order to show that they would not disprove Horace's criticism.

**66. quam . . . auctor**: the thought is altogether general; *carmen* is not satire and the *auctor* is not Lucilius or Ennius. The statement of Quintilian (10, 1, 93), *satira tota nostra est*, is, in a way, correct, but it represents an entirely different literary tradition from that which Horace is following. His doctrine, expressed with an even exaggerated emphasis in 1, 4, 1–6, was that satire came directly from the Greeks of the Old Comedy; in fact, the error of underestimating the force and value of the purely Italic influences runs through all his literary criticism. With the opening words of 1, 4 in mind — and they are distinctly in his mind all through this satire — he could not have called satire *rude et Graecis intactum carmen*. The thought is quite different: 'Lucilius did not invent satire out of nothing; the way had been already prepared by the Greeks and he learned from them. I grant, therefore, that he had a certain degree of polish, more, of course, than a writer composing some entirely new (*rude*) kind of poetry, some poetry untouched by the Greeks, would have had, more even than the early poets generally, but if he had lived . . .'

**67. seniorum**: *senex* is frequently used of the early Latin writers. — **ille**: emphatic.

**68. nostrum dilatus in aevum**: *prolonged in life down to our time.* So Ovid, *M.* 12, 76, *decimum dilatus in annum Hector erat.*

**69. detereret**: *would file off many roughnesses;* the same figure as that in *limatior.* — **omne quod ultra**: *i.e.* the *plura tollenda* of vs. 51.

**72 ff.** From the completed argument in support of his criticism of Lucilius, Horace turns first to a general truth and then to his

scripturus, neque te ut miretur turba labores,
contentus paucis lectoribus. An tua demens
vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?
non ego; nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax,
contemptis aliis, explosa Arbuscula dixit.
Men' moveat cimex Pantilius, aut cruciet quod
vellicet absentem Demetrius, aut quod ineptus

less worthy assailants, Hermogenes and his friends.

72. **stilum vertas**: the blunt upper end of the *stilus* was used to smooth out the marks made in the wax of a tablet, as a lead-pencil is reversed to use the eraser.

73. **scripturus**: with the effect of a condition; *if you hope to write*.

74. **contentus**: continuing the advice; *but be content with*.

75. **vilibus . . . dictari**: poetry to be learned was dictated by the teacher and taken down by the pupils. So Orbilius dictated Livius Andronicus to Horace, *Epist.* 2, 1, 70 f. and Vergil and Horace were in the curriculum of schools in the time of Juvenal (7, 226 f.). Horace, of course, did not, as is sometimes said, 'dread this fate'; he is merely saying in a humorous way, 'do not aim at popularity; don't try to be one of the "best sellers."'

76. **equitem**: the educated class; so *Epist.* 2, 1, 187. It is quite possible, too, that the word would be taken as a complimentary reference to Maecenas. — **audax**: *undismayed* by the disapproval expressed by the crowd.

77. **Arbuscula**: an actress in mimes like those of Laberius (vs. 6). Cicero wrote to Atticus in 54 B.C., *quaeris nunc de Arbuscula; valde placuit* (4, 15, 6).

78. **cimex**: as this is not used by us as a term of reproach, a modern equivalent, *beast*, *reptile*, may be substituted. — **Pantilius**: unknown; but the name actually occurs and there is no good reason for connecting it with πᾶν τίλλειν or supposing it to be fictitious. — **cruciet**: the subj. is *quod vellicet*.

79 ff. Demetrius is unknown; cf. vs. 18. Most of the other names in this list have been mentioned before: Fannius, 1, 4, 21; Hermogenes, 1, 3, 4; Plotius, 1, 5, 40; Varius, 1, 5, 40; Fuscus, 1, 9, 61; Viscus, 1, 9, 22; Pollio, vs. 42; Messalla, vs. 29. Of the others, C. Valgius Rufus was an elegiac poet and a friend to whom Horace addressed *Carm.* 2, 9. Octavius Musa (the emperor is called by Horace either Caesar or

Fannius Hermogenis laedat conviva Tigelli?
Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque,
Valgius, et probet haec Octavius, optimus atque
Fuscus, et haec utinam Viscorum laudet uterque!
Ambitione relegata te dicere possum,
Pollio, te, Messalla, tuo cum fratre, simulque
vos, Bibule et Servi, simul his te, candide Furni,
compluris alios, doctos ego quos et amicos
prudens praetereo; quibus haec, sint qualiacumque,
arridere velim, doliturus si placeant spe
deterius nostra. Demetri, teque, Tigelli,
discipularum inter iubeo plorare cathedras.
I, puer, atque meo citus haec subscribe libello.

Augustus) was a poet and historian, mentioned in the *Catalecta*, 14, 1. Bibulus is probably L. Calpurnius Bibulus, a son of Caesar's colleague in the consulship and a fellow-student with Horace in Athens. Servius may be a son of Servius Sulpicius Rufus, referred to several times by Cicero. C. Furnius is mentioned by Plutarch as an orator.

It is worthy of note that, with scarcely an exception, all the men here named as friends are of sufficient importance to be referred to by other writers than Horace.

84. **ambitione relegata**: *without flattery*, without fear that he may be suspected of boasting; the phrase is put in here because the men whose names follow were all of high rank and social standing.

86. **simul**: here used as a preposition governing *his*.

87. **doctos**: *good critics*, without the slur which *doctus* often implies.

88. **prudens**: *intentionally*, to avoid too long a list. — **sint qualiacumque**: perhaps a reminiscence of Catull. 1, 8 f., *quidquid hoc libelli, qualecumque*.

89. **arridere**: *be pleasing*; cf. *Carm.* 2, 6, 13 f., *ille terrarum mihi . . . angulus ridet*.

91. **discipularum . . . cathedras**: *the easy-chairs of the women to whom you give lessons*. — **iubeo plorare**: with double meaning, first with reference to their singing and also as a humorous substitute for *valere iubeo*.

92. **meo . . . libello**: this can mean nothing else than the whole book of satires and indicates that this satire was a kind of epilogue to the collection. — **puer**: the slave who was acting as his secretary.

# LIBER SECVNDVS

The Second Book of the Satires was published in 30 B.C., five years after the First Book, and the changes which the interval had produced in the temper and in the art of Horace are quite evident; his tone is less personal and more mellow and he has adopted the dialogue form instead of the monologue. In both respects the change is an advance. The earlier satires, with all their geniality, are touched here and there with sensationalism, and even the later work betrays at times a certain uneasiness about his own position and success. But by the year 30 B.C. Horace, now about thirty-five years of age, had won recognition as a writer. He was secure in the esteem of a circle of friends; he had accommodated himself, not indeed without difficulty, but quite sincerely, to the great political changes which he had at first opposed, and he writes like a man at peace with himself and with his world. He is not less serious; in his treatment of philosophy he is more serious; but he is less insistent, less urgent, and his touch is lighter. With this change in tone the change in form, from monologue to dialogue, and especially to a dialogue in which Horace himself plays only a subordinate part, is quite in harmony. A tendency toward informal dialogue is evident in some of the satires of the First Book (*e.g.*, 1, 1, 30 ff.; 1, 4, 38 ff.), but the step from this to the formal dialogue of 2, 1 and 2, 5 is a long one, and the change was undoubtedly regarded by Horace as a distinct advance in the form of satire.

## I

There are no allusions in this satire which fix the date of composition. The reference to the Parthians (vs. 15) is entirely general and might have been made before the battle of Actium, while Antonius was still master of the East. But it is probable that this satire was written after the rest of the book was completed, in accordance with the custom which Horace had begun in *Sat.* 1, 1 and which he afterward followed in *Epod.* 1, 1, *Carm.* 1, 1, and *Epist.* 1, 1. This would fix the date about 30 B.C., after the battle of Actium, to which *Caesaris invicti* (vs. 11) may be an allusion.

'Trebatius, people say that my satire is worthless. What shall I do about it? — Keep still! — What, not write at all? — Yes. — By Jove, you may be right. But I can't go to sleep. — Can't sleep? Take some exercise and drink a bottle of wine just before bed-time and you will sleep perfectly well. Or, if what you mean is that you can't stop writing, then write about Caesar; that is work that will pay you. — I wish I could, my dear sir, but I am not equal to describing battles. — Then write about his justice and his energy. — Some other time, perhaps; just now I don't think I will try it. — It would be a great deal better than the things you do write, which make enemies on all sides. — I can't help myself. Writing is my hobby. I have fighting blood in my veins, as Lucilius had in his. But I never attack; I simply defend myself with my natural weapon, as a bull does with his horns. I can't help myself; write I must. — You won't live long if you stick to that course. Some of your great friends will turn a cold shoulder to you. — What, did Lucilius's friends desert him? I am not as great a man as he was, but if any man attacks me, he will find that I am no easy prey — unless, of course, you advise differently. — No, I don't think I can say anything against that. But there are libel laws for the writers of bad verses. — Bad verses! Yes, but mine are not bad; they are very good. Can I be sued for writing good verses? — Certainly not. Good poetry is above all law.'

In issuing a second collection of writings in the same style as that by which he had already won both friends and enemies, Horace thought it well to preface it with a further defence of satire, continuing the subject of 1, 4 and 1, 10. But as 1, 10 is at once less serious and more assured than 1, 4, so this satire is less obviously argumentative than 1, 10. Its underlying purpose is self-defence and explanation, but under the cover of pure burlesque. It represents a consultation between Horace and his legal adviser, C. Trebatius Testa. The latter is well known to us through the group of letters addressed to him by Cicero (*ad Fam.* 7, 6–22); he was a distinguished jurisconsult and a man of much humor, and therefore a suitable figure for a burlesque consultation. The dialogue is managed with great skill; Trebatius, in a dry, legal manner, gives prudent advice, which Horace rejects as fast as it is given, arguing with much heat in favor of the course that he had already determined upon before he went through the form of consulting the lawyer. The arguments, too, by which Horace defends his course are all farcical: Milonius gets drunk and dances, therefore I may write satire; the bull gores, the wolf bites, and Scaeva poisons his mother, therefore I may use my satire to wound and poison. From beginning to end there is

not an argument that is meant to be taken seriously and the satire becomes thus a kind of proclamation by Horace of his assurance that his writings need no serious defence.

*Horatius.* Sunt quibus in satira videor nimis acer et ultra
legem tendere opus ; sine nervis altera, quicquid
composui, pars esse putat, similisque meorum
mille die versus deduci posse. Trebati,
quid faciam praescribe. *Trebatius.* Quiescas. *Hor.* Ne faciam, inquis,
omnino versus ? *Treb.* Aio. *Hor.* Peream male, si non
optimum erat; verum nequeo dormire. *Treb.* Ter uncti

1. **satira**: here used for the first time by Horace and in a general, not a concrete, sense ; *in the writing of satire.*

2. **legem**: *i.e.* the artistic law which should govern this kind of writing ; cf. vs. 63 and *operis lex*, *Ars Poet.* 135. — **tendere**: *bend, force*, of bending a bow. — **sine nervis**: *without vigor ;* cf. the adj. *enervis*. *Nervus* is usually *sinew, muscle*, not *nerve*. The two criticisms, *nimis acer* and *sine nervis*, are direct opposites and, therefore, mutually destructive.

4. **deduci**: *spun out, reeled off.*

5. **praescribe**: a rather formal word, used especially in legal language. — **Quiescas**: with sententious brevity, as befits an eminent legal authority, and with a humorous double meaning, since it may be either 'never mind your critics,' or 'stop your writing.'

6. **Peream male, si**: cf. 1, 9, 38 and 47.

7. **optimum erat**: *would not be best.* The impf. indic. of neglected duty or opportunity, especially common with impersonals ; see any grammar. — **dormire**: *go to sleep, i.e.* give up writing and, it is implied, all activity.

7–9. Trebatius is represented as pretending to understand *dormire* literally (*somno quibus est opus alto*) and as giving a favorite remedy for insomnia, in which Horace touches two hobbies or foibles of the great lawyer. He was very fond of swimming (Cicero, *ad Fam.* 7, 10, 2, calls him *studiosissimus homo natandi*) and was not disinclined to the bottle (cf.

transnanto Tiberim, somno quibus est opus alto,
irriguumque mero sub noctem corpus habento.
Aut, si tantus amor scribendi te rapit, aude
Caesaris invicti res dicere, multa laborum
praemia laturus. *Hor.* Cupidum, pater optime, vires
deficiunt; neque enim quivis horrentia pilis
agmina nec fracta pereuntis cuspide Gallos
aut labentis equo describat volnera Parthi.

*ad Fam.* 7, 22, written after a night with Trebatius, *inluseras heri inter scyphos*, and *domum bene potus seroque redieram*). — **Ter**: a sacred number, used to give formality to the prescription. — **uncti**: oil was used by athletes to soften the skin. — **transnanto, habento**: old forms used in laws and in medical recipes. — **irriguum**: one of many euphemisms (*madidus*, *uvidus*, etc.), like the Engl. 'full,' 'tight.'

10. **tantus amor**: Trebatius now recognizes the real meaning of *dormire*, which he had pretended to take literally. — **aude**: it would require some courage to write an epic.

11. **Caesaris**: the nephew, not the uncle, as below, vs. 19, and everywhere in the Satires except 1, 9, 18. — **invicti**: this may be a reference to the battle of Actium, but the word might fairly have been used before that event with reference to the earlier victories in the civil war.

12. **praemia**: it may perhaps be a little hit at the legal profession to represent Trebatius as thinking first of the payment which epic poetry might bring. — Both *laturus* and *cupidum* should be rendered in English by clauses, as Greenough remarks. — **pater**: a term of respect from a younger man to an older. Cf. *puer*, vs. 60.

31–15. Here, as in *Carm.* 1, 6, and elsewhere, in professing his inability to write of warlike scenes, Horace cannot refrain from a few phrases of description which suggest that his real reason for refusing is not so much conscious inability as disinclination. — **pilis**: the Roman weapon. — **fracta . . . cuspide, pereuntis**: the signs of defeat; the broken spear is merely one of the evidences of rout and disaster, not a reference to the detached head of the *pilum*, to which *fracta* would not be applicable. So *labentis equo* indicates the defeat of the Parthian cavalry. The Gauls and the Parthians are selected merely as conspicuous among the enemies of Rome, without reference to particular campaigns.

*Treb.* Attamen et iustum poteras et scribere fortem,
Scipiadam ut sapiens Lucilius. *Hor.* Haud mihi dero,
cum res ipsa feret. Nisi dextro tempore, Flacci
verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem,
cui male si palpere, recalcitrat undique tutus.
*Treb.* Quanto rectius hoc, quam tristi laedere versu
Pantolabum scurram Nomentanumque nepotem,

16. **poteras**: *you might*; cf. *optimum erat*, vs. 7. — **iustum, fortem**: *i.e.* in his capacity as law-giver (*iustum*) and administrator (*fortem*).

17. **Scipiadam**: for *Scīpĭōnem*, which could not be used in hexameter; there is no patronymic force in the ending. The younger Scipio was a contemporary and friend of Lucilius; cf. vss. 65 f. — **sapiens**: pred., 'like a man of sense,' with an indirect reflection upon Horace's lack of worldly wisdom. — **Lucilius**: the mention of Horace's model in satire of course implies that Trebatius is no longer advising him to give up satire for epic, but only to turn his satire to more profitable uses. — **Haud mihi dero**: cf. 1, 9, 56, where the context shows that *cum res ipsa feret* means the same thing as *dextro tempore*, 'when a proper opportunity shall present itself.'

18. **Flacci**: *a Flaccus*; a man of so humble a name as Flaccus, in contrast with *Caesaris*.

19 f. **attentam . . . aurem**: the comparison of Caesar to a high-spirited horse is suggested in these words, to be expressed more fully in the next line. — **non**: with the whole phrase, not with *attentam* alone or *ibunt* alone. — **ibunt**: the future implies intention. As there is no English phrase corresponding to *ire per aurem*, the construction must be shifted in translation; 'the words of a Flaccus shall not try to reach the ear of a Caesar.' — **tutus**: *to protect himself*.

22. Quoted, with change of case, from *Sat.* 1, 8, 11. The effect is therefore as if he had said, 'than to write such a savage verse as that in the Eighth Satire.' Cf. 1, 4, 92, where a line of similar character is quoted from 1, 2, 27. That quotation is introduced by *ego si risi* and the argument, there seriously made, is that the line is a harmless jest. It is almost a necessary inference that here also the verse quoted by Trebatius was regarded by Horace as in fact quite harmless. This could be true only if the persons referred to were either fictitious, as the name Pantolabus certainly is, or already notorious, as was probably the case with Nomentanus (cf. 1, 1, 102 note).

cum sibi quisque timet, quamquam est intactus, et odit!
*Hor.* Quid faciam? Saltat Milonius, ut semel icto
accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis;
Castor gaudet equis, ovo prognatus eodem
pugnis; quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum
milia: me pedibus delectat claudere verba
Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque.
Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
credebat libris, neque, si male cesserat, usquam

**23. timet . . . et odit**: a repetition of the charge made in 1, 4, 33. The purely farcical character of the reply here shows how secure Horace felt himself to be.

**24–29.** 'I can't help writing, any more than Milonius can help getting drunk and dancing. Everybody has his little weakness; mine is satire.'

**24. icto**: with *capiti*; a euphemism for intoxication, like *irriguum*, vs. 9.

**25. accessit**: in a double sense with *fervor* and *numerus*. — **lucernis**: *i.e.* when he has drunk so much that he begins to see double.

**26.** 'Even twin brothers differ in their interests.' The contrast is emphasized by using *ovo prognatus eodem* for Pollux, and, in accordance with the general character of the argument, two of the lower gods with lower interests are selected instead of, *e.g.*, Apollo and Mercury.

**27. quot capitum**: proverbial and better expressed by Terence, *Phorm.* 454, *quot homines, tot sententiae*; 'many men of many minds.'

**28. pedibus . . . claudere verba**: a repetition of the phrase *pedibus quid claudere senis*, used in *Sat.* 1, 10, 59 to describe the merely mechanical construction of hexameters. Here also, with a different purpose, it puts the matter in its lowest terms, 'I amuse myself by stringing together verses that will scan.'

**29. melioris**: not in the moral or social sense, but a better judge, a better authority. — **utroque**: as if the thought began very modestly — 'a better authority than I am' — and then went on to a little hit at his advisor — 'or than you, either.'

**30–34.** The Scholiasts note that this is a bit of traditional literary criticism, going back to Aristoxenus, who had said that Alcaeus and Sappho *volumina sua loco sodalium habuisse*. — **arcana**: his deepest and most intimate thoughts about the events (*si male cesse-*

decurrens alio, neque si bene; quo fit ut omnis
votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
vita senis. Sequor hunc, Lucanus an Apulus anceps:
nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus,
missus ad hoc, pulsis, vetus est ut fama, Sabellis,
quo ne per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis,
sive quod Apula gens seu quod Lucania bellum
incuteret violenta. Sed hic stilus haud petet ultro
quemquam animantem, et me veluti custodiet ensis
vagina tectus; quem cur destringere coner,
tutus ab infestis latronibus? O pater et rex

*rat*, *si bene*) of life; not *secrets*. — **votiva . . . tabella**: such a picture as is referred to in *Carm.* 1, 5, 13 f., where the successive scenes of some event like an escape from shipwreck were represented in a single picture. Cf. the scenes from the Trojan War in *Aen.* 1, 456 ff. — **senis**: the word *senex* was sometimes applied to writers of the early period as a synonym for *vetus*, *antiquus*, without reference to the age of the individual. [The opposite opinion may be found in Müller, *Lucil.* p. 288.]

34–39. The expression is elliptical: 'I take Lucilius for my leader, for I too come of fighting stock. But I fight only in self-defence.' The digression upon the question whether Venusia is properly Lucanian or Apulian is subordinate to the main line of reasoning. — **anceps**: nom. masc., with the subj. of *sequor*; the phrase should be rendered freely. — **ad hoc**: antec. of the clause *quo ne . . . incurreret*. — **Sabellis**: *the Samnites*. Venusia was founded in 291 B.C., in the Third Samnite War. — **quo ne**: for *ut ne* or *ut eo ne*; but this use of *quo* is without a parallel. — **quod**: after *si-ve* and with *bellum*.

39. **Sed**: adversative to the underlying thought of the preceding sentence. — **hic stilus**: *this pen of mine*, but with some reference to the fact that the sharp metal *stilus* could be actually used as a weapon.

40. **animantem**: *living being*, to generalize the thought.

41. **vagina tectus**: these are the important words in the comparison; 'as a sword is a defence, even though it is not drawn from its scabbard.'

42. **tutus**: *i.e.* 'as long as I am not attacked.'

Iuppiter, ut pereat positum robigine telum,
nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis! At ille
qui me commorit ('melius non tangere!' clamo),
flebit, et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.
Cervius iratus leges minitatur et urnam,

43. **ut pereat**: a wish introduced by *ut* exactly as wishes are introduced by *utinam*, which is nothing but a strengthened form of *uti* (cf. *quis*, *quisnam*); instances are not infrequent. The verse is in form, though not in sentiment, a reminiscence of Catull. 66, 48, *Iuppiter, ut Chalybon omne genus pereat*. — **positum**: a part of the wish; 'may I be able to put it away and let it rust;' almost the same as *vagina tectus*.

44–46. In these lines the humorous exaggeration and affected solemnity of the satire reach a climax. Whatever Horace may have been in his earlier years, he was at this time as far removed as possible from a bragging swashbuckler, whose war-cry (*clamo*) was 'Better not touch me!' He is, in fact, setting up here the figure of himself which his earlier critics had constructed, exaggerating it and making it ridiculous by a burlesque defence, in the confident assurance that his real purpose in satire was by this time fully recognized.

45. **commorit**: = *commoverit*. There is a kind of progress in pretended touchiness from *infestis latronibus* to *commorit* (*stir me up*) and *tangere* (*lay a finger on me*).

46. **cantabitur**: *i.e.* the whole town shall be repeating the satirical verses that I will write about him.

47–56. These lines serve a double purpose. As a part of the ironical argument they pretend to justify the determination (44–46) to continue the writing of satire ('Canidia poisons her enemies and I will poison mine; the wolf bites and therefore I will write biting satire'), and they illustrate the general principle (vss. 24–28) that men are not to be blamed for yielding to their special weaknesses ('and satire is my weakness,' vs. 28). At the same time, these allusions, which a reader of Horace's time would at once understand, show how harmless and impersonal his satire really was. For no one of the five persons named was really an enemy of Horace. Cervius, Albucius, and Scaeva are names which occur elsewhere (*Sat.* 2, 6, 77; 2, 2, 67; *Epist.* 1, 17, 1), but with quite different characteristics; they are merely Roman names which do not refer to individuals. Canidia is frequently mentioned (*Sat.* 1, 8; 2, 8, 95; *Epod.* 3, 8; 5, 17) in

Canidia Albuci quibus est inimica venenum,
grande malum Turius, si quid se iudice certes.
Vt quo quisque valet suspectos terreat, utque
imperet hoc natura potens, sic collige mecum :
dente lupus, cornu taurus petit : unde nisi intus
monstratum ? Scaevae vivacem crede nepoti
matrem ; nil faciet sceleris pia dextera : mirum,
ut neque calce lupus quemquam neque dente petit bos :
sed mala tollet anum vitiato melle cicuta.

a way which shows that she was already notorious. Turius appears to have been a character of the Ciceronian period, long since dead, whose abuse of his judicial office was a matter of common knowledge. The whole passage, therefore, savage as the personal allusions are made to appear, is in reality, like the quotation in vs. 22, a reminder of Horace's moderation in satire and of his avoidance of personal attacks upon contemporaries.

47. **Cervius**: an informer; cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 65 n. — **urnam**: the vase from which the names of jurymen were drawn and in which their votes were deposited.

48. **Albuci**: with *venenum*. — **quibus**: the antec. is the obj. of *minitatur* to be supplied from vs. 47.

49. **grande malum**: *i.e. a heavy penalty* without regard to the justice of the case.

50. **Vt**: *how*, introducing *terreat* and *imperet*.

51. **sic**: from the following, vs. 52. — **collige**: *you may judge ;* the potential use of the impv., like *scito*. — **mecum**: *as I do*, *i.e.* by following the line of argument which I now present.

52. **dente, cornu**: the emphatic words. — **intus**: *from within*, the usual Plautine and colloquial meaning.

53. **vivacem**: *too long-lived*, so that the son's inheritance of his property is delayed.

54 f. **sceleris**: crime of violence. — **pia**: *filial*. He would not cut her throat or strangle her; his little weakness is poisoning, not bloodshed. — **mirum, ut**: *as astonishing as it is that*, *i.e.* no more astonishing. — **calce**: suggesting the contrast of the wolf to a kicking horse (cf. vs. 20) as a slight variation from vs. 52.

56. **mala**: a standing epithet with poisons. — **tollet**: euphemistic, as the whole line is; the matter will be managed quietly, without publicity.

Ne longum faciam, seu me tranquilla senectus
exspectat seu Mors atris circumvolat alis,
dives, inops, Romae, seu fors ita iusserit, exul,
quisquis erit vitae, scribam, color. *Treb.* O puer, ut sis
vitalis metuo, et maiorum ne quis amicus
frigore te feriat. *Hor.* Quid, cum est Lucilius ausus
primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,
detrahere et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora
cederet, introrsum turpis, num Laelius aut qui
duxit ab oppressa meritum Carthagine nomen
ingenio offensi aut laeso doluere Metello

57. **Ne longum faciam**: the same words in 1, 3, 137, and cf. *ne te morer*, 1, 1, 14.

60. **vitae . . . color**: this figurative use of *color* is especially common in rhetorical writings, *e.g. Ars Poet.* 86, 236.

61 f. **vitalis**: *long-lived*; Trebatius goes back to 58, *Mors . . . circumvolat*; 'I am afraid that you won't live long, if that's your spirit.' — **maiorum**: with *amicus*. The reference is to the friends of high station mentioned by Horace with pride in *Sat.* 1, 10, 81 ff., Maecenas, Pollio, Messalla. — **frigore . . . feriat**: a little more forcible than *strike you with a chill*; *ferire* is used of striking an enemy dead, 'striking down' and *frigus* suggests the dangerous fever and chill.

63. **primus**: *i.e.* Lucilius began this kind of writing; I am merely a follower and therefore less liable to suffer for it.

64 f. **pellem**: an allusion to the fable of the Ass in the Lion's Skin; cf. *Sat.* 1, 6, 22 and *Epist.* 1, 16, 45, *introrsum turpem, speciosum pelle decora*. — **per ora**: *among men*; the phrase occurs only a few times, but the meaning is clear. — **cederet**: colloquial for *incederet*. — **introrsum turpis**: *i.e.* under the skin is an ugly ass.

65. **Laelius**: C. Laelius, consul in 140 B.C., a friend of Terence, used by Cicero as a speaker in the two dialogues *de Senectute* and *de Amicitia*.

66. The younger Scipio Africanus, whose friendship with Laelius was historic.

67. **offensi**: *sc. sunt*. — **laeso . . . Metello**: Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, consul in 143 B.C., a political opponent of Scipio.

famosisque Lupo cooperto versibus? Atqui
primores populi arripuit populumque tributim,
scilicet uni aequus virtuti atque eius amicis.
Quin ubi se a volgo et scaena in secreta remorant
virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli,
nugari cum illo et discincti ludere, donec
decoqueretur olus, soliti. Quicquid sum ego, quamvis

68. **Lupo**: L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, consul in 156 B.C., also an enemy of Scipio and attacked by Lucilius apparently with special bitterness. — **famosis**: *which made them notorious.* — **cooperto**: *overwhelmed;* the verses fell upon him like a volley of javelins.

The argument of vss. 62–68 is ironical, though less broadly so than that of 47–56; 'do you suppose that Scipio and Laelius were greatly disturbed when Lucilius turned his satire upon their political opponents?' — **Atqui**: *and yet* Lucilius was much more daring and more sweeping in his satire than I am.

69. **arripuit**: a technical term of law; *summoned to court.* — **tributim**: *a tribe at a time.* This is a reference to a political satire in which Lucilius *tribus omnes XXXV laceravit* (Schol. to Pers. 1, 114); of this two fragments remain, containing the names of two of the tribes attacked, *Papiria* and *Oufentina.*

70. **scilicet**: *of course.* The line is a humorous afterthought, really in direct contradiction of the preceding statement, just as in vss. 43 ff. and below in vss. 77 f. an exaggerated pugnacity and a regard for the proprieties are set in contrast; 'he attacked everybody, high and low, and the whole people, tribe by tribe, but of course, you understand, he attacked only bad people (cf. vs. 85) and never satirized the virtuous — any more than I do.'

71. **Quin**: *why;* corrective of the insufficient expression in *offensi. doluere.* — **scaena**: the stage of public life.

72. **virtus Scipiadae**: Homeric circumlocutions; 'the virtuous Scipio and the wise and gentle Laelius.'

73. **discincti**: *i.e.* laying aside all the formalities of city life. There are other references (Schol. and Cic. *de Orat.* 2, 6, 22) to this distinct tradition that Scipio and Laelius enjoyed the opportunities of relaxation in the country.

74. **olus**: *i.e.* a simple country meal, 'a dinner of herbs.' — **soliti**: *sc. sunt*, as with *offensi* in vs. 67.

infra Lucili censum ingeniumque, tamen me
cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque
invidia, et, fragili quaerens illidere dentem,
offendet solido, — nisi quid tu, docte Trebati,
dissentis. *Treb.* Equidem nihil hinc diffindere possum.
Sed tamen ut monitus caveas, ne forte negoti
incutiat tibi quid sanctarum inscitia legum:
si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, ius est
iudiciumque. *Hor.* Esto, si quis mala; sed bona si quis

75. **censum**: *rank*. Lucilius was an *eques* and therefore naturally connected with men of station.

76. **invita**: *i.e.* even against its will, in spite of itself.

77 f. **fragili, solido**: dat. neut.; alluding to the fable of the Viper and the File. — **illidere**: *to dash in*, expressing the eagerness of the bite.

78. **nisi . . . dissentis**: cf. 70 note. Horace represents himself as suddenly remembering, at the very climax of his bragging, that he is supposed to be asking advice.

79. **hinc diffindere**: lit., 'to cut off anything from this,' with the figure of *fragili . . . solido* still in mind; translate, 'I can't find anything in this to take exception to.' [But the text is not sure.]

80. **ut . . . caveas**: not a final clause and not to be explained by supplying a main clause. This is the use of *ut* (more often *uti*) in sentences of command, parallel to the use of *uti-nam* in wishes; it is not infrequent in Plautus (*Bacch.* 739, *proin tu ab eo ut caveas tibi*; *Capt.* 115, etc.) and Terence (*Ad.* 280, *Phorm.* 212), but survives especially in legal formulas (C.I.L. 1, 196, 23 and in quotations in Livy) and is used here to give a formal tone to the injunctions of the lawyer; cf. vs. 8 f. *transnanto*, *habento*, and vs. 82. — **negoti**: *trouble*, a common colloquial meaning; gen. partitive with *quid*.

81. **sanctarum**: *sacred*, as a lawyer would naturally think them.

82. **si mala . . . carmina**: this is almost the phraseology of the law of the XII Tables as quoted by Pliny, *H. N.* 28, 4, 18, *qui malum carmen incantassit*, and by Cicero *de Rep.* 4, 10, 12, *sive* (*quis*) *carmen condidisset*. — **ius est iudiciumque**: *there is right of action and a legal remedy*; the offended party has a legal right to sue.

83. **mala**: Horace represents himself as understanding this word, which in the law means

iudice condiderit laudatus Caesare? si quis
opprobriis dignum latraverit, integer ipse?
*Treb.* Solventur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis.

*injurious*, *abusive*, in the esthetic sense, *bad poetry*.

84. **Caesare**: Caesar is named rather than some recognized critic like Quintilius Varus because he would be accepted by a lawyer as the highest authority.

86. The sense of this line is perfectly clear, 'the case will be laughed out of court and you will go free,' and the figure in *solventur* is used elsewhere (Quint. 5, 10, 67, *cum risu tota res solvitur*; Cic. *de Orat.* 2, 58, 236, *res . . . ioco risuque dissolvit*), but the exact meaning of *tabulae* (the indictment, the voting tablets, the benches of the jury-men) cannot be determined.

## 2

There is no internal evidence to fix the date of this satire; it was written between 35 and 30 B.C.

'The advantages of plain living — I am repeating what I once heard from a wise old farmer — cannot be properly set forth in an after-dinner conversation; only a hungry man can know how good plain food may be. At a dinner party your judgment is confused by the elaborate cookery and — still worse — by the rarity or the novelty of the viands. Indeed, the very over-abundance sometimes drives you back in disgust to simple flavors. For it is only lately that you have learned, in obedience to fashion, to like stork; roast sea-gull will be the next whim, I suppose.

'But you must not think — says my old farmer — that simplicity means stinginess. Do not rush to the other extreme; keep to the middle course of a plain neatness.

'Consider, now, the advantages of such a way of living: health, vigor, the pleasure of occasional indulgence, hospitality, good repute, money left in your purse, and, chief of all, readiness to meet the buffets of fortune. I used to hear the old farmer, then a hired laborer on the farm he had once owned, discoursing about this to his sons: "I have lived a temperate life and my wants are few. Let Fortune do her worst; he that is down need fear no fall."'

In form, this satire, like 3, 4, 7, 8 of this book, consists of a main body of didactic discourse set in an introductory framework. In the

other satires, however, the framework is in dialogue, generally very skilfully adapted to its special purpose, while here the setting is not clearly conceived (cf. vs. 7 note), the introduction is too brief (vss. 2 f.), and the quotation passes from indirect to direct without sufficient motive and with a second and superfluous introduction (vss. 112–115). In the main discourse also there is a similar lack of clearness of outline. The change from the plural (vss. 1–7) to the vague *tu* breaks the continuity. The reference to Ofellus in vs. 53 is not distinct enough to preserve the illusion of quotation. The knowledge of places, fashions, and persons in Rome is quite inconsistent with the circumstances of an Apulian peasant; this is in part to be explained by the fact that the whole satire is a parody of a Stoic sermon, in which allusions to Roman affairs would be quite in place, but the inconsistency remains and adds nothing to the humor. The explanation of these incongruities in structure is that Horace is here experimenting with a form of satire which is a compromise between the dialogue form of Satires 3, 4, 7, and 8 and the frankly personal monologue of Satire 6, and is inferior to either.

There is a similar compromise or combination in the subject-matter; on the one hand, the satire contrasts country life with the life of the city, as is done in greater fulness and with greater effectiveness in Satire 6; on the other hand, the luxuries and fashions of the table, which are ridiculed here, are treated more fully and more humorously in Satires 4 and 8. But the two subjects harmonize more easily than the two forms. The combination, however, is marked enough to suggest the hypothesis that this satire is the earliest of the book in date of composition, and that both form and subject were worked out to greater perfection in the later satires.

Quae virtus et quanta, boni, sit vivere parvo
(nec meus hic sermo est, sed quae praecepit Ofellus
rusticus, abnormis sapiens, crassaque Minerva),

1. **boni**: ὠγαθοί, as a friendly form of address.

2. **nec meus . . . est**: the same phrase, κοὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, occurs in a fragment of Euripides and is quoted by Plato, *Symp.* 177 A.

3. **abnormis**: *unschooled*, not bound by the doctrines of any sect. So Cicero, *de Amic.* 5, 18, says that certain Roman worthies were not philosophers, *ad istorum normam.* — **crassa Minerva**: *of a rough-and-ready wit.* Cf. *pingui Minerva*, Cic. *de Amic.* 5, 19. Minerva is the goddess of intelligence.

discite, non inter lances mensasque nitentis,
cum stupet insanis acies fulgoribus et cum
acclinis falsis animus meliora recusat,
verum hic impransi mecum disquirite. 'Cur hoc?'
Dicam, si potero. Male verum examinat omnis
corruptus iudex. Leporem sectatus equove
lassus ab indomito, vel, si Romana fatigat
militia adsuetum graecari, seu pila velox,
molliter austerum studio fallente laborem,

4 f. **nitentis, fulgoribus**: the gleaming of silver plate, which the Romans used very freely, is often alluded to in descriptions of the tables at a banquet, *e.g.* Catull. 64, 44 ff. — **stupet acies**: *the eyes are dazzled*, of course in a figurative sense, 'the judgment is distracted.'

7. **hic impransi**: *here*, not at a table, and *fasting*, *hungry*, not after an elaborate dinner. The two words seem to suggest a particular scene and certain definite circumstances — a group of friends or neighbors waiting for their lunch, — but if such a setting for the discourse was in Horace's mind, it is lost sight of at once and not again alluded to in the satire. Cf. note on vs. 17. — **Cur hoc**: *i.e.* 'why *impransi?*'

8. **si potero**: this gives the air of a lecturer: 'I will endeavor to tell you.' — **Male**: with *examinat*. The sentence can be best translated by turning it into the negative form; 'no judge who has been bribed . . .'

9–16. The outline of this loosely constructed sentence is simple; 'get an appetite by hard exercise, and then see whether you are disposed to refuse plain food.' But after mentioning two kinds of Roman exercise, hunting (cf. *Epod.* 2, 29 ff.; *Carm.* 1, 1, 25 ff.) and riding (*Carm.* 1, 8, 5 ff.), he introduces as an alternative two kinds of Greek athletics, ball-playing and the throwing of the *discus*, each in a conditional clause, *seu pila* (*te agit*), *seu discus te agit*; the first is left without a formal apodosis, but *pete* is the apodosis to the second. Then as the formal structure of the sentence has been disturbed, the substance of 9–13 is condensed into *cum . . . extuderit* and repeated in *siccus*, *inanis*. — **militia**: with special reference to riding. — **graecari**: there is a suggestion of effeminacy in this verb. — **velox**: the game consisted in rapid passing of the ball from one player to another. — **molliter . . . laborem**: *i.e.* 'in which the interest in the game makes the

seu te discus agit, pete cedentem aera disco;
cum labor extuderit fastidia, siccus, inanis
sperne cibum vilem; nisi Hymettia mella Falerno
ne biberis diluta. Foris est promus, et atrum
defendens piscis hiemat mare: cum sale panis
latrantem stomachum bene leniet. Vnde putas aut
qui partum? Non in caro nidore voluptas
summa, sed in te ipso est. Tu pulmentaria quaere
sudando; pinguem vitiis albumque neque ostrea
nec scarus aut poterit peregrina iuvare lagois.
Vix tamen eripiam, posito pavone, velis quin

player enjoy the exercise, forgetting how severe it is.' This abl. abs. clause takes the place of an apodosis to *seu pila*. — **discus**: a large flat quoit, thrown for distance, not for accuracy. — **agit**: *stirs, rouses, attracts*. A rare use, but exactly paralleled in Cic. *Arch.* 7, 16, *haec studia adulescentiam agunt, senectutem oblectant*. — **pete**: *strike*. — **disco**: abl. — **extuderit**: *i.e.* 'has knocked the nonsense out of you'; a colloquial use. — **Hymettia, Falerno**: the finest honey and wine. — **promus**: the *butler* or *steward*, who keeps the keys of the storeroom.

17. **hiemat mare**: this has been taken to indicate that the scene of the discourse was a villa on the seashore, where Horace repeats the precepts of Ofellus to a group of friends. But the reference is too general for that; fish are mentioned here, as in 31 ff., 48 f., 95, merely as other kinds of food are specified.

18. **leniet**: the future implies 'you will find that it will soothe.'

19. **qui partum**: *whence or how do you suppose that this comes about*, that you are glad to get the plainest food?

20. **Tu**: emphatic, with reference to *te ipso*. — **pulmentaria**: the Scholiasts refer to the story that Socrates, being asked why he was taking such a long walk, replied ὄψον συνάγω, which is almost *pulmentarium quaero*. Cf. also the saying *fames optimum condimentum*.

21 f. **vitiis**: *excesses* in eating and drinking. — **ostrea, scarus, lagois**: three expensive delicacies. But neither the *scarus*, a kind of fish, nor the *lagois*, a game bird, can be precisely identified. — **iuvare**: *to give you pleasure*.

23. **eripiam**: with prohibitive force and therefore followed by

hoc potius quam gallina tergere palatum,
corruptus vanis rerum, quia veneat auro
rara avis, et picta pandat spectacula cauda;
tamquam ad rem attineat quicquam. Num vesceris ista
quam laudas pluma? Cocto num adest honor idem?
carne tamen quamvis distat nihil, hanc magis illa
imparibus formis deceptum te petere esto,
unde datum sentis, lupus hic Tiberinus an alto
captus hiet, pontisne inter iactatus an amnis

*quin.* — **posito**: on the table, as in *Sat.* 1, 3, 92. — **pavone**: the peacock was first used as an article of food by Hortensius the orator and was afterward regarded as a necessary part of a banquet. Cf. Cic. *ad Fam.* 9, 20, 2, *sed vide audaciam; etiam Hirtio cenam dedi sine pavone.*

24. **tergere**: almost exactly like the English *to tickle the palate.*

25. **corruptus**: cf. vs. 9. — **vanis rerum**: = *vanis rebus;* so *fictus rerum*, *Sat.* 2, 8, 83. — **veneat**: the subjv. suggests the real, though unexpressed, motive for the preference.

28. **Cocto . . . idem**: the peacock was cooked with its plumage, but the brilliancy of the feathers would be lost. — **num adest**: monosyllabic hiatus with a word ending in *-m* or a long vowel; cf. *si me amas*, *Sat.* 1, 9, 38.

29–32. 'You pretend to prefer peacock to fowl, but it is a mere pretence; you could not tell them apart if it were not for the difference in size. Let me try you with two pike of the same size and see if you can distinguish the one caught in the Tiber — which you epicures consider so much better — from one caught in the sea.' — **quamvis**: frequently with the indic. in Horace, *e.g. Sat.* 1, 3, 129. — **hanc illa**: *sc. carnem*, *carne.* — **imparibus . . . deceptum**: this does not mean that the epicure could not distinguish fowl from peacock, but that he allowed the fact that the peacock was bigger to delude him into thinking that it was also better. It is the same as *corruptus vanis rerum*, vs. 25; *misled by the false standard of size.* — **esto**: *grant that.* — **unde datum sentis**: *whence do you get the power to distinguish; i.e.* 'when there is no difference in size, there is no way in which you can distinguish, as you pretend to do.' Cf. vs. 18 and *unde petitum hoc in me iacis? Sat.* 1, 4, 79. — **hiet**: this should be made subordinate in the translation; 'whether this pike with its mouth open was caught . . .' — **pontis inter**: *between the*

ostia sub Tusci? Laudas, insane, trilibrem
mullum, in singula quem minuas pulmenta necesse est.
Ducit te species, video: quo pertinet ergo
proceros odisse lupos? Quia scilicet illis
maiorem natura modum dedit, his breve pondus.
Ieiunus raro stomachus volgaria temnit.
'Porrectum magno magnum spectare catino
vellem,' ait Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus. At vos,
praesentes Austri, coquite horum obsonia! Quamquam

*bridges*, *i.e.* from the shore of the island which was connected by bridges with the two banks. The fish caught in the swift current here (*iactatus*) were thought to have a finer flavor. This passage is reminiscent of Lucilius, 1176 (Marx), *pontes Tiberinus duo inter captus catillo* (*scavenger*, *i.e.* a pike).

33. **insane**: a Stoic form of address; cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 81, and 326. — **trilibrem**: the mullet was usually a small fish, rarely weighing as much as two pounds, and enormous sums were paid for those of abnormal size.

34. **pulmenta**: *helps*, *portions*. — **minuas . . . necesse est**: parataxis, as often with *necesse est*. The argument is that there is no real reason for preferring the large mullet, since it must be divided into portions to be served.

35 ff. The sententious brevity of the clauses is in parody of the Stoic manner. — **Quia scilicet**: giving the real reason in an ironical form; 'it is mere fashion without taste which leads you to prefer the rare and unnatural — small pike and large mullets.' The modern parallel to this is serving fruits out of season.

38. **raro**: with *ieiunus*; 'it is because you seldom feel real appetite that you seek for such varieties.'

39. **magno magnum**: a sort of outcry as if from some one who feels himself free from the whims of fashion; 'but I should really like to see a big fish in a big dish.' The answer is, 'your gluttony is no more natural than the caprices of fashion.'

40. **At**: not adversative, but, as frequently in curses, a particle of transition.

41. **praesentes**: *i.e.* 'come yourselves and cook (taint) the food of such people.' — **Austri**: the warm south winds. — **Quamquam**: '*and yet* I need scarcely say this, for those whose appetites are spoiled with an over-abundance of rich viands cannot distinguish fresh food from tainted.'

putet aper rhombusque recens, mala copia quando
aegrum sollicitat stomachum, cum rapula plenus
atque acidas mavolt inulas. Necdum omnis abacta
pauperies epulis regum; nam vilibus ovis
nigrisque est oleis hodie locus. Haud ita pridem
Galloni praeconis erat acipensere mensa
infamis. Quid? tum rhombos minus aequor alebat?
Tutus erat rhombus, tutoque ciconia nido,
donec vos auctor docuit praetorius. Ergo
si quis nunc mergos suavis edixerit assos,
parebit pravi docilis Romana iuventus.
Sordidus a tenui victu distabit, Ofello
iudice; nam frustra vitium vitaveris illud,

42. **quando**: *since;* the more common use in Horace.

43 f. **sollicitat**: *disturbs, troubles.* — **rapula, inulas**: *radishes and pickles.* The root of the elecampane (*inula*) is no longer used as a food. — **Necdum**: *not even yet; i.e.* 'we still use some simple kinds of food, for it is not so very long ago that these absurd fashions were introduced.'

45. **pauperies**: plain food, the food of a poor man; contrasted with *regum, the rich.*

46–52. 'It is not long since the introduction of the sturgeon made Gallonius notorious. Now a turbot or a stork is the proper thing for a fine dinner. Such fashions have not even the excuse of a love of good food; they are nothing but silly caprices.' — **Galloni**: Publius Gallonius, satirized by Lucilius for having set the fashion of serving a large sturgeon at dinner. — **Quid? . . . alebat**: the exclamation of a person to whom the present fashion of having turbot for a fish-course seems like a law of nature. — **auctor . . . praetorius**: his name is variously given by the Scholiasts, who quote an anonymous epigram upon him, alluding to his setting the fashion of eating storks and to his defeat for the praetorship. *Praetorius* would then be ironical. — **mergos**: some sea bird whose flesh was not fit for eating. — **edixerit**: *issue an edict,* as a praetor did; another hit at the *auctor praetorius.* — **pravi docilis**: *quick to learn corruption.*

53 f. 'But Ofellus did not rush to the other extreme; it was simplicity, not stinginess, that he recommended.' The mention of Ofellus is a reminder of vss. 2 f.

si te alio pravum detorseris. Avidienus
cui Canis ex vero ductum cognomen adhaeret,
quinquennis oleas est et silvestria corna,
ac nisi mutatum parcit defundere vinum, et
cuius odorem olei nequeas perferre, licebit
ille repotia, natalis, aliosve dierum
festos albatus celebret, cornu ipse bilibri
caulibus instillat, veteris non parcus aceti.
Quali igitur victu sapiens utetur, et horum
utrum imitabitur? Hac urget lupus, hac canis, aiunt.

55. **alio**: adverb. — **pravum**: with *te*, but to be rendered freely. — **Avidienus**: a coined name, probably with a vague suggestion of *ăvidus*, in spite of the difference in quantity.

56. **Canis**: *i.e.* Κύων; a depreciatory reference to the rival sect of the Cynics, in the manner of a Stoic preacher. — **ex vero ductum**: *deservedly applied*, based on the actual facts of his temper and habits. The phrase occurs elsewhere; Plautus, *Stich.* 242, *nunc Miccotrogus nomine e vero vocor*; Ovid, *Fast.* 2, 859.

57. **est**: from *edo*. — **silvestria corna**: *i.e.* such poor food as primitive man used before the cultivation of grain; cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1, 1, 147 ff.

58. **mutatum**: *turned*, soured.

59. **olei**: attracted from the acc. after *instillat* into the relative clause. — **licebit**: paratactically with *celebret*; there are many cases where the pres. *licet* is felt as a verb rather than as a conjunction.

60. **repotia**: *wedding feasts*, occasions when the best of food would be served.

61. **albatus**: wearing the white toga of ceremony; he would observe the proprieties where the observance cost nothing. — **cornu . . . bilibri**: *i.e.* the oil was served in a large vessel of the cheapest material, instead of a *guttus* (*Sat.* 1, 6, 118), and the host poured it with his own hand (*ipse*) drop by drop (*instillat*) that there might be no waste.

62. **veteris . . . aceti**: the point of this is not quite clear. Old vinegar is better than new; the implication may be that he was generous only with vinegar, which was cheaper than oil, or this may be, as the Scholiast says, a joke of the kind called παρὰ προσδοκίαν, the substitution of *aceti* for an expected *vini*.

64. **aiunt**: *as the saying is*. The

Mundus erit, qua non offendat sordibus, atque
in neutram partem cultus miser. Hic neque servis,
Albuci senis exemplo, dum munia didit,
saevus erit, nec sic ut simplex Naevius unctam
convivis praebebit aquam ; vitium hoc quoque magnum.
Accipe nunc victus tenuis quae quantaque secum
adferat. In primis valeas bene : nam variae res
ut noceant homini credas, memor illius escae
quae simplex olim tibi sederit; at simul assis
miscueris elixa, simul conchylia turdis,
dulcia se in bilem vertent, stomachoque tumultum
lenta feret pituita. Vides ut pallidus omnis
cena desurgat dubia ? Quin corpus onustum

verb *aiunt* is often used parenthetically in the quotation of a proverb.

65. **Mundus erit, qua** : 'the philosopher will be refined in his way of living, but will not carry refinement to such an extreme that it will seem to be mere stinginess.' The meaning of *mundus* (*munditia*) is limited in the same way in *Sat.* 1, 2, 123 and in Cic. *de Off.* 1, 36, 130; cf. also *Carm.* 2, 10, 5 ff.

66. **cultus** : with *miser*, *anxious about his way of living*.

67–69. Albucius (not to be connected with the Albucius of *Sat.* 2, 1, 48) is so overanxious to have all the service at dinner perfect that he scolds his servants even when he is assigning their duties; Naevius (a mere name) is so careless that he allows his slaves to be slovenly. — **unctam . . . aquam** : *greasy water* for rinsing the hands after the meal. — **vitium . . . magnum** : this solemn condemnation of a rather trifling fault (cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 80 f. and *Sat.* 2, 8) comes with burlesque effect from the lips of an old farmer.

71. **valeas** : potential, as is *credas* in the next line, with protases implied in the general sense and in *memor*, *if you recall*.

73. **sederit** : like the colloquial English 'to set well on the stomach.'

75 f. **dulcia, bilem, lenta pituita** : phrases of popular physiology, to describe indigestion. *Pituita* is in three syllables.

77. **cena . . . dubia** : a quotation from Terence, *Phorm.* 342, 'cena dubia adponitur. || quid istuc verbi est ? || ubi tu dubites quid sumas potissumum,' *i.e.* a dinner

hesternis vitiis animum quoque praegravat una,
atque affigit humo divinae particulam aurae.
Alter, ubi dicto citius curata sopori
membra dedit, vegetus praescripta ad munia surgit.
Hic tamen ad melius poterit transcurrere quondam,
sive diem festum rediens advexerit annus,
seu recreare volet tenuatum corpus, ubique
accedent anni et tractari mollius aetas
imbecilla volet; tibi quidnam accedet ad istam
quam puer et validus praesumis mollitiem, seu
dura valetudo inciderit seu tarda senectus?

so good that you don't know what to take first. — **Quin**: corrective, as often, of the inadequacy of the previous sentence; *nay more*.

78 f. **vitiis**: *excesses* in eating, as in vs. 21. — The conception of the soul as a part of the divine spirit imprisoned within the body is often expressed in Latin literature; it was a fundamental doctrine of Stoic philosophy and is introduced here, in words that are intentionally too elevated for the context and the speaker, to give a burlesque of the Stoic preacher.

80 f. **Alter**: the philosopher, the man of simple habits. — **dicto citius**: a colloquialism, with the exaggeration common in the language of conversation. — **curata membra**: *i.e.* he refreshes himself with supper; cf. *corpora curare*, *cibo se curare* and the frequent use of *membra* of health or strength, *e.g. Sat.* 1, 1, 5. The whole phrase *curata . . . dedit* goes together, as the order suggests, and *dicto citius* goes with the whole; 'in less time than it takes me to tell it he has had his supper and fallen asleep.'

82–88. 'A man who lives ordinarily on plain fare can indulge himself on occasion, but the man who is always self-indulgent has exhausted his possibilities of pleasure.'

82. **Hic**: referring to *alter*. — **tamen**: in spite of his habitual self-restraint.

83–84. **sive . . . seu . . . ubique**: three reasons for relaxation, a feast-day, illness, old age. To avoid a too elaborate accuracy in expression, a different conjunction, *ubi-que* for *si-ve*, is used to introduce the third clause.

87. **praesumis**: 'take before the time, allow yourself prematurely.'

Rancidum aprum antiqui laudabant, non quia nasus
illis nullus erat, sed, credo, hac mente, quod hospes
tardius adveniens vitiatum commodius quam
integrum edax dominus consumeret. Hos utinam inter
heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset!
Das aliquid famae, quae carmine gratior aurem
occupat humanam? Grandes rhombi patinaeque
grande ferunt una cum damno dedecus; adde
iratum patruum, vicinos, te tibi iniquum
et frustra mortis cupidum, cum derit egenti
as, laquei pretium. 'Iure,' inquit, 'Trausius istis

89–93. 'The economical farmer will always have a reserve of food — even though it may not be of the freshest — for a chance guest.'

89 f. **Rancidum . . . laudabant**: intentionally put in a paradoxical form in order to burlesque the seriousness of the speaker. — **non quia . . . sed quod**: there is no difference between *quia* and *quod* in this form of sentence, but the subjv. is used in the second clause because it gives the motive of the *antiqui*.

91 f. **vitiatum**: = *rancidum*. — **integrum**: with double meaning, 'the whole of it while it was still fresh.' — **commodius**: *i.e.* they thought it more suitable, they praised such conduct more.

93. The wish is, of course, comic, though the Stoic is represented as uttering it in all seriousness. Cf. *vitium . . . magnum*, vs. 69.

94–99. 'A display of luxury brings notoriety and, in the end, ruin.' — **Das aliquid**: *i.e.* 'Do you consider that a good name is of some account?' — **patruum**: the uncle is in Latin literature a type of severity, so that *patruus* in *Sat.* 2, 3, 88, *ne sis patruus mihi*, becomes almost equal to *iniquus*. — **iniquum**: *hateful*. — **derit**: = *de-erit*. — **laquei pretium**: a standing comic situation (*e.g.* Plaut. *Pseud.* 88 f.), in which a bankrupt tries to borrow a penny to buy rope enough to hang himself.

99–111. 'You may think that your income is sufficient for any expenses, but — if you do not care to bestow any of it upon others — all men suffer losses and your course of life is a poor preparation for meeting misfortune.'

99. **Trausius**: unknown; a mere name to represent a man who lives beyond his income. For the form of argument, which is a favorite one with Horace, cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 52;

iurgatur verbis; ego vectigalia magna
divitiasque habeo tribus amplas regibus.' Ergo
quod superat non est melius quo insumere possis?
Cur eget indignus quisquam te divite? Quare
templa ruunt antiqua deum? Cur, improbe, carae
non aliquid patriae tanto emetiris acervo?
Vni nimirum recte tibi semper erunt res,
o magnus posthac inimicis risus! Vterne
ad casus dubios fidet sibi certius, hic qui
pluribus adsuerit mentem corpusque superbum,
an qui contentus parvo metuensque futuri
in pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello?
Quo magis his credas, puer hunc ego parvus Ofellum

1. 10, 5; 1, 10, 21–23. It consists in the mere mention of a name which suggests circumstances that refute the previous statement.

102. **quod superat**: *your surplus*. — **non . . . possis**: construe *non est quo melius*, etc.

103–105. Exhortations to charity or to the giving of money to public objects are less common in classic literature than in modern times (cf., however, *Carm.* 2, 15, 18 ff.; 3, 6, 2 ff.; Cic. *de Off.* 3, 15, 63), but such donations to individuals and to communities were not uncommon. Cf., *e.g.*, *Sat.* 1, 9, 18 note; and Pliny's endowment of a library (*Epist.* 1, 8, 2) and of a school (4, 13, 5).

106. **Vni**: with emphatic irony; 'Do you expect to be the only exception to the general law of change in human fortunes?'

107. **Vterne**: the interrogative *-ne* is occasionally appended even to interrogative pronouns; so 2, 3, 295, 317.

109. **pluribus**: 'to superfluities, to a variety of luxuries.' — **superbum**: with predicate force; 'and thereby have made them his masters.'

111. This is a reference to a proverbial saying, 'in time of peace prepare for war,' which appears in Latin in various forms (*si vis pacem, para bellum*) and, like other proverbs, is still accepted by the unsophisticated as the essence of wisdom.

112–115. At this point Horace assumes, more distinctly than in vss. 2 f. and 53, the person of the narrator, adding to the effectiveness of the closing argument (*quo magis his credas*) by personal reminiscence (*puer ego parvus*) and specific details (*nunc accisis, metato, mercede*). The skill of the

integris opibus novi non latius usum
quam nunc accisis. Videas metato in agello
cum pecore et gnatis fortem mercede colonum,
'Non ego,' narrantem, 'temere edi luce profesta
quicquam praeter olus fumosae cum pede pernae.
Ac mihi seu longum post tempus venerat hospes,
sive operum vacuo gratus conviva per imbrem
vicinus, bene erat non piscibus urbe petitis,
sed pullo atque haedo; tum pensilis uva secundas
et nux ornabat mensas cum duplice ficu.
Post hoc ludus erat culpa potare magistra,
ac venerata Ceres, ita culmo surgeret alto,

artifice is so great that many commentators have taken it for reality, but cf. *Sat.* 2, 6, 11 f. for a similar, though less detailed, reference. — **latius**: so Juv. 14, 234, *indulgent sibi latius; angustus* is frequently used of the opposite. — **metato**: *i.e.* measured by the land-commissioners appointed to survey and apportion confiscated land; as in ordinary circumstances farms were marked by boundary stones and not surveyed, the verb *metari* came to be used especially of the surveys preliminary to confiscation and allotment. — **mercede**: *i.e.* the new proprietor hired the former owner to carry on the farm.

116. **Non . . . temere**: *not without reason*, only when there was some special reason; the ordinary sense of *non* (*haud*) *temere*.

118 ff. 'Even on the rare occasions our food was still simple.' — **hospes**: a guest from a distance, who came infrequently (*longum post tempus*). — **vicinus**: the celebrating of a neighbor's visit is excused by the additional circumstances, *operum vacuo*, *per imbrem*. — **pensilis uva**: *raisins*. — **duplice ficu**: split for drying. The point is that only the products of the farm were used, even for special occasions; cf. *dapes inemptas*, *Epod.* 2, 48.

123. **Post hoc**: the wine was served according to the country custom after the dessert (*secundae mensae*), and was drunk without the formal etiquette of elaborate dinners (cf. *Sat.* 2, 6, 67 ff.); instead of selecting a *magister bibendi* to regulate their drinking, they were governed only by their own sense of propriety (*culpa*).

124. **ita . . . surgeret**: the indirect form of the prayer *ita Ceres surgat* or *ita tu surgas*, often followed by a statement of some evi-

explicuit vino contractae seria frontis.
Saeviat atque novos moveat Fortuna tumultus,
quantum hinc imminuet? Quanto aut ego parcius aut vos,
o pueri, nituistis, ut huc novus incola venit?
Nam propriae telluris erum natura neque illum
nec me nec quemquam statuit: nos expulit ille,
illum aut nequities aut vafri inscitia iuris,
postremum expellet certe vivacior heres.
Nunc ager Vmbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofelli
dictus, erit nulli proprius, sed cedet in usum
nunc mihi, nunc alii. Quocirca vivite fortes,
fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus.'

dent truth in an *ut*-clause. Cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 300; *Carm.* 1, 3, 1 ff. 'And the wine that we drank as we prayed to Ceres, "so may you rise on the high stalk," smoothed the wrinkles from our brows.'

126. **tumultus**: like the dissensions that preceded Philippi and resulted in the confiscation of the farm of Vergil's father.

128. **pueri**: his sons, gathered about him as he watches the herds (vs. 115). — **novus incola**: Umbrenus, the veteran to whom the farm had been allotted.

129. **propriae**: predicate; *to hold it as his own.*

131. **nequities, inscitia iuris**: there is abundant evidence that the veterans who were suddenly changed from soldiers to farmers often made but poor use of their property, managing it badly, falling into debt, and suffering, perhaps unfairly, from their ignorance of civil life.

132. **postremum**: acc. masc. with *illum;* but translate, *at last.*

134. **proprius**: contrasted with *cedet in usum;* we merely use our possessions, we do not really own them.

135 f. These lines return to the thought of vss. 107–111, as if to prove by an example the general statement made there.

## 3

The allusion in vs. 185, *plausus quos fert Agrippa*, shows that the satire was written as late as the year 33 B.C., when Agrippa, as aedile, gave the games with unusual splendor. The reference to the Saturnalia

(vs. 5) fixes the time of year when the dialogue is supposed to take place, but indicates nothing in regard to the time when it was composed.

In structure this is the most carefully arranged of all the satires. The main body is a sermon by the philosopher Stertinius (alluded to in *Epist.* 1, 12, 20, but otherwise unknown to us) upon the Stoic Paradox πᾶς ἄφρων μαίνεται, that all men except the Stoic philosopher are mad. The discourse is carefully divided into four parts, taking up in turn the avaricious (82–157), the ambitious (158–223), the self-indulgent (224–246, with a special subdivision, 247–280, for the amorous), and the superstitious (281–295). There is a brief introduction (77–81) and a corresponding conclusion (296–299). This discourse is repeated to Horace by Damasippus, a recent convert to Stoicism, whose character and circumstances are admirably adapted to his part. He had been a collector of antique bronzes and a dealer in real estate and is alluded to by Cicero (*ad Fam.* 7, 23, 2; *ad Att.* 12, 29, 2; 12, 33, 1) in connection with the purchase of statuary and of land for gardens. But he had afterward failed in business and in his despair was about to throw himself into the Tiber, when he was saved by the intervention of Stertinius. The logical reasoning by which Stertinius convinced him that his motive for suicide was insufficient is an excellent bit of philosophical fooling and serves as an introduction to the main sermon.

The circumstances which brought Damasippus into contact with Horace are disclosed in a brief introductory dialogue (1–31). Horace represents himself as having gone out to his quiet Sabine farm at the time of the Saturnalia to escape the Christmas festivities and to do some work. But the work had been postponed and he was sitting in his study dozing after a good dinner (*vini somnique benignus*), when Damasippus burst in upon him, uninvited, having come out from the city full of zeal to rouse him from his laziness. To his exhortations Horace replies with good-natured irony in a rather superior tone and finally submits to a recital of the long sermon. When it is over (300–326), he rouses himself to make further ironical remarks, to which Damasippus replies with such point that Horace for a moment loses his temper and then surrenders, acknowledging himself to be as great a madman — almost — as his visitor. The opening and the closing bits of dialogue thus form a framework for the main body of the satire.

To the carefulness in construction an equal care in expression has been added. There are few passages where the thought is not clearly expressed and there are many of special excellence, like the farcical scene from the camp before Troy (187–207), a forerunner of *Sat.* 2, 5, or the brilliant paraphrase of the first lines of the *Eunuchus* (262–271).

The synonyms for *insanus* collected by Teuffel (*furiosus*, *excors*, *delirus*, *amens*, *amentia versatus*, *demens*, *cerritus*, *commotus*, *commotae mentis*, *mentem concussus*, *male tutae mentis*, *putidi cerebri*) are evidence of the pains taken to avoid monotony.

As to the underlying motive of the satire, it seems probable that the accusations of idleness in the opening lines were not without foundation. After the publication of the First Book there was probably a period in which Horace was disinclined to go on with precisely the same kind of writing and was perhaps turning toward lyric poetry. During this time of hesitation he may well have seemed to be occupied with his farm (307 f.) and to have abandoned his literary ambitions. To the doubts of his friends and the criticisms of his enemies this long and carefully constructed satire was intended to be a reply. At the same time it is, even more distinctly than *Sat.* 2, 2, an attempt to touch the follies of mankind with a lighter touch. The burlesque of Stoic formalism and solemnity runs through the whole and is in many places worked out in detail, so that the satire might well be taken to be a satire upon that sect. On the other hand, however, the absurdities and follies which are the subject-matter are equally the objects of attack, but they are made ridiculous by exaggeration rather than reproved. If the first part of the sermon of Stertinius (vss. 82–157) be compared with *Sat.* 1, 1, which deals with the same subject, the difference in manner will be apparent. There is in this satire none of the direct argument which gives a serious tone to *Sat.* 1, 1; the sermon of Stertinius is a series of absurd illustrations, — Staberius, Aristippus, the senseless miser, Orestes, Opimius, — which ridicule avarice by presenting it in its extremest forms. In short, the genial raillery of Horace is here directed by turns upon the preacher, upon the congregation, and upon the satirist himself.

*Damasippus.* Sic raro scribis, ut toto non quater anne
membranam poscas, scriptorum quaeque retexens,
iratus tibi, quod, vini somnique benignus,
nil dignum sermone canas. Quid fiet? At ipsis

1. **scribis**: the final long syllable before the caesura occurs in a few other places; *e.g. Sat.* 1, 4, 82.

2. **membranam**: the parchment upon which the rough draft was written out; writing upon this material could be erased and corrections made. — **retexens**: *unraveling*, with a change in the figure to weaving. — **scriptorum**: neut., partitive gen.

4. **dignum sermone**: *worth talk-*

Saturnalibus huc fugisti. Sobrius ergo
dic aliquid dignum promissis! Incipe! Nil est.
Culpantur frustra calami, immeritusque laborat
iratis natus paries dis atque poetis.
Atqui voltus erat multa et praeclara minantis,
si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto.
Quorsum pertinuit stipare Platona Menandro,
Eupolin, Archilochum, comites educere tantos?
Invidiam placare paras virtue relicta?
Contemnere, miser! Vitanda est improba Siren
desidia, aut quicquid vita meliore parasti

*ing about*; likely to increase your reputation. — **Quid fiet**: *what is to be the outcome?*

5. **Saturnalibus**: this feast began on Dec. 17 and was prolonged for several days. It was a time of feasting, of the giving of presents, and of special freedom for slaves. — **huc**: to his farm. — **Sobrius ergo**: 'well then, since you have chosen to keep out of the festivities.'

6–8. To the absurd exhortation to sit down at once and begin a poem Horace of course makes no response and Damasippus hastens to forestall his excuses: 'There is no use in blaming the pens or in pounding the wall, which doesn't deserve to bear the responsibility.' — **iratis natus dis**: *i.e.* under unfortunate auspices; cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 97 f., *Gnatia lymphis iratis exstructa*.

9 f. 'And yet just recall your determination to do some work if you could only escape to the quiet of your farm.'

11 f. The Greek writers here named are poets; Eupolis, Plato, and Menander as representatives respectively of the Old, the Middle, and the New Comedy, and Archilochus as a writer of iambics like the Epodes. The selection of these writers is meant to indicate that Horace was turning from satire, in the traditional Roman form, toward satirical iambics. — **stipare**: of packing closely in his traveling-bags.

13. 'Are you preparing to pacify your enemies by abandoning satire?' To the Stoic reformer the earnest satirist seemed a kindred spirit and his attacks upon the follies of men seemed a *virtus*, almost as good as a Stoic sermon.

15 f. **quicquid . . . parasti**: not exactly his fame as a poet, for which the Stoic cared nothing, but his standing as a hortatory

ponendum aequo animo. *Hor.* Di te, Damasippe, deaeque
verum ob consilium donent — tonsore. Sed unde
tam bene me nosti? *Dam.* Postquam omnis res mea Ianum
ad medium fracta est, aliena negotia curo,
excussus propriis. Olim nam quaerere amabam,
quo vafer ille pedes lavisset Sisyphus aere,
quid sculptum infabre, quid fusum durius esset;

reformer, which he would lose if he turned aside to the mere prettinesses of lyric poetry. — **aequo animo**: *i.e.* 'with such composure as you can muster.'

16 f. **Di . . . deaeque . . . donent**: a solemn formula in wishes and curses, though *dent* or *duint* is the more common verb. — **tonsore**: *i.e.* with that which the philosopher, with his long beard, seemed to need most. The reply is, of course, an expression of lazy irony, in the utmost possible contrast to the intense earnestness of Damasippus.

17 f. **unde . . . nosti**: with the implication, under the form of a polite question, that Damasippus was entirely mistaken.

18–20. **Ianum ad medium**: the same words are used by Cicero (*de Off.* 2, 24, 87) of a part of the Forum given up to the banking business, near the middle one of three arches. Such arches were frequently consecrated to Janus as the god of openings (cf. *ianua*). The expression would then be like the phrase 'in Wall Street.' — **aliena negotia curo**: a hit at the reforming philosophers, who were thought of as busybodies in other men's matters. The phrase must be supposed to be used by the Stoic without consciousness of its double meaning, though Horace in some other places (cf. vss. 28–30 and note) puts into the mouth of Damasippus words that he would hardly have used. — **excussus**: the figure is that of a man knocked overboard from a shipwrecked vessel, a figure already suggested by *fracta*. — **quaerere**: *to investigate*, as a skilled expert in antiquities.

21. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 90 f. Both passages touch with humorous exaggeration the inclination of collectors to claim a fabulous antiquity for their artistic treasures. Sisyphus was king of Corinth, the center of artistic work in bronze.

22. **sculptum infabre, fusum durius**: the unskilful carving and hard (*i.e.* stiff and formal) casting, though they were defects in

callidus huic signo ponebam milia centum;
hortos egregiasque domos mercarier unus
cum lucro noram; unde frequentia Mercuriale
imposuere mihi cognomen compita. *Hor.* Novi,
et miror morbi purgatum te illius. *Dam.* Atqui
emovit veterem mire novus, ut solet, in cor
traiecto lateris miseri capitisve dolere,
ut lethargicus hic cum fit pugil et medicum urget.

the artistic work, were evidence to the collector of the antiquity of the piece and, therefore, in his eyes, of its rarity and value.

23. **huic signo**: *such a statue.* — **milia centum**: *i.e.* the large price which its age would command in the market.

24–26. **unus cum lucro**: in spite of his bankruptcy and his adoption of the life of a philosopher, Damasippus cannot refrain from speaking with pride of his earlier successes in business. — **frequentia . . . compita**: the crowds that gathered at the street-corners, where statuary and bronzes were sold at auction. — **Mercuriale . . . cognomen**: *favorite of Mercury*, the god of trade (*merx*). But *Mercuriales viri* (*Carm.* 2, 17, 29 f.) means the favorites of Mercury as the god of speech.

27. **morbi**: Horace jokingly uses the technical term *morbus*, a translation of πάθος, which was used to describe any form of passion or any departure from calm philosophic reason.

28–30. **mire**: this repeats *miror* in a kind of unintentional pun. Horace had used *miror* with irony — 'a surprising cure'; Damasippus in his well-meaning eagerness overlooks the irony and uses *mire* in the better sense: 'Oh, but the wonderful thing is not the cure; it is this new interest, which effected the cure, that is so wonderful.' But it is scarcely possible to explain in the same way, as due to the blundering eagerness of Damasippus, the comparison of Stoicism to a *morbus*, even to a kind of frenzy. Though Horace has not actually put the word into the mouth of Damasippus, the expression is still quite clearly inconsistent with his character, and we must say that Horace has here, as perhaps in vss. 19 and 33, failed to make the speech quite consistent with the character of the speaker. — The illustration in vs. 30 — 'as some man (*hic*) in a lethargy suddenly turns boxer and assaults his doctor' — is chosen in order to give an opening for the remark in vs. 31 and to lead up to the subject of madness.

*Hor.* Dum ne quid simile huic, esto ut libet. *Dam.*
O bone, ne te
frustrere; insanis et tu stultique prope omnes,
si quid Stertinius veri crepat, unde ego mira
descripsi docilis praecepta haec, tempore quo me
solatus iussit sapientem pascere barbam
atque a Fabricio non tristem ponte reverti.
Nam, male re gesta, cum vellem mittere operto
me capite in flumen, dexter stetit et 'Cave faxis
te quicquam indignum! Pudor' inquit 'te malus angit,
insanos qui inter vereare insanus haberi.

31. **huic**: neut., referring to *fit pugil et urget*. 'I bar such conduct as that; otherwise, have it your own way.' The implication of course is that Damasippus is liable to an attack of frenzy.

32. **ne te frustrere**: *don't make a mistake;* the common phrase is *ne sis frustra.* — **insanis . . . omnes**: this is the Stoic Paradox which forms the text of the sermon.

33. **crepat**: *prates.* The word is contemptuous, and inconsistent with 296, *sapientium octavus*, as with the general attitude of Damasippus. It is another slip on Horace's part, like 19 and 28. — **unde**: *a quo.*

35. **sapientem pascere barbam**: put first, as if this external sign were more important than the thing signified. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 133.

36. The *pons Fabricius* is still standing, with an inscription recording the fact that it was rebuilt by L. Fabricius, in the year 62 B.C. — **non tristem**: not as he had come, but reconciled to life.

37 f. **operto capite**: one who devoted himself to the gods of the lower world covered his face; so Decius, giving up his life to win victory, covered his head, and (Livy, 4, 12, 11) *multi . . . captibus obvolutis se in Tiberim praecipitaverunt.* — **dexter**: the side of good omen. — **faxis**: an old form (an optative of the sigmatic aorist) preserved in this colloquial combination with *cave;* 'don't do anything unworthy.' Horace uses a great variety of forms of prohibition.

39. **Pudor . . . malus**: not exactly what we call *false shame*, but a sense of humiliation which is really based upon a mistake. *Malus* is the emphatic word.

Primum nam inquiram quid sit furere : hoc si erit in te
solo, nil verbi pereas quin fortiter addam.
Quem mala stultitia et quemcumque inscitia veri
caecum agit, insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex
autumat. Haec populos, haec magnos formula reges,
excepto sapiente, tenet. Nunc accipe quare
desipiant omnes aeque ac tu, qui tibi nomen
insano posuere. Velut silvis, ubi passim
palantis error certo de tramite pellit,
ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit, unus utrique

41 ff. These lines illustrate the double humor of the whole satire; they analyze the universal folly of men and at the same time they exhibit the folly of the Stoic himself, who addresses an elaborate argument to a man about to commit suicide and, in particular, an argument which does not prove the hearer sane, but only no more insane than his fellow-men.

41. **Primum**: in proper Stoic style, the argument begins with a definition. — **furere**: a synonym for *insanum esse*.

42. **fortiter**: Stoic teaching did not forbid suicide and Stertinius treats the question as one of pure logic.

43 f. **Quem**: add *-cumque* from the following *quemcumque*. — **stultitia, inscitia**: these are not two distinct qualities, but *stultitia* is the general term of which *inscitia veri* is a particular definition, still further defined by *caecum agit*: 'madness consists in being moved by blind and ignorant impulse, instead of being guided by wisdom' (the opposite of *stultitia*). — **Chrysippi**: Zeno was the founder of the school, which took its name from the στοά, the Porch, where he taught. Chrysippus was the greatest of Zeno's successors and was often spoken of as the head of the school. — **grex**: not infrequently used, as here, of a *sect* of philosophy, usually with a slighting tone. It is hardly a word which a Stoic would have used of his school. Cf. 19, 28, 33 and notes.

45 f. **formula**: the definition just given. — **tenet**: *covers, includes*. — **Nunc**: introducing the argument based on the definition and corresponding somewhat loosely to *primum*, 41.

50 f. **unus, variis**: *i.e.* the fundamental error is the same, *inscitia veri caecum agit*, though the particular manifestations are different.

error, sed variis illudit partibus : hoc te
crede modo insanum, nihilo ut sapientior ille,
qui te deridet, caudam trahat. Est genus unum
stultitiae nihilum metuenda timentis, ut ignis,
ut rupis fluviosque in campo obstare queratur ;
alterum et huic varum et nihilo sapientius ignis
per medios fluviosque ruentis : clamet amica
mater, honesta soror cum cognatis, pater, uxor,
'Hic fossa est ingens, hic rupes maxima, serva!'
non magis audierit quam Fufius ebrius olim,
cum Ilionam edormit, Catienis mille ducentis

51 f. **hoc . . . modo**: referring back to *velut* and also forward to *ut*; 'just as in the woods men stray from the path in one direction or another, — it makes no difference which side, — so you must understand your own madness, realizing that it is no greater than that of others.'

53. **caudam trahat**: the explanation of the Scholiast is 'solent enim pueri deridentes nescientibus a tergo caudam suspendere, ut velut pecus caudam trahant.' The conservatism of boys still preserves this form of humor.

54. **nihilum**: with *metuenda*, as a mere negative. Kiessling refers to the statement of this thought in Xenophon, *Mem.* 1, 1, 14. — **timentis**: agreeing with *stultitiae*, but the concrete *stultus* is so plainly implied that no subject is expressed for *queratur* and in the next sentence the abstract is forgotten and *ruentis* is masc., as if agreeing with *stulti*.

55. **in campo**: *i.e.* on perfectly clear and level ground, where there are no fires or cliffs or rivers.

56. **huic varum**: *different from this*; *varus* seems to be very rare in this sense and perhaps has some humorous effect.

57. **amica**: with *mater* ('the mother who loves him'), to balance *honesta* ('whom he respects') with *soror*.

59. **fossa, rupes**: substituted for *ignis*, *fluvios*, merely for variety.

60–62. **audierit**: apodosis to the protasis expressed without *si* in *clamet*. — **Fufius, Ilionam, Catienis**: in the play of Pacuvius there was a scene in which the mother, Iliona, is roused from sleep by the spirit of her murdered son, who addresses her with the words *mater, te adpello, tu, quae curam somno suspensam levas;*

'Mater, te appello' clamantibus. Huic ego volgus
errori similem cunctum insanire docebo.
Insanit veteres statuas Damasippus emendo:
integer est mentis Damasippi creditor? Esto.
'Accipe quod numquam reddas mihi' si tibi dicam,
tune insanus eris si acceperis? an magis excors

the mother should reply *age, adsta, mane, audi.* But, on one occasion, an actor named Fufius, who was playing the part of Iliona, had been drinking (*ebrius*) and actually fell asleep, so that the appeal of the son (played by Catienus) did not waken him, and the audience, seeing the situation, joined in repeating the first words *mater, te appello.* — **Ilionam edormit**: a cognate acc., like *Cyclopa saltare* (*Sat.* 1, 5, 63), but with a humorous effect; *was sleeping the part of Iliona.* — **mille ducentis**: twice the usual round number, *sescenti.*

62 f. **Huic . . . errori**: refers back to 49 and 51; the *error* is *inscitia veri* (43), the failure to see things as they really are. — **similem**: sc. *errorem*, which would be a cognate acc. after *insanire.*

65. **integer mentis**: = *sanus.* — **esto**: *i.e.* 'grant it for the moment and then see what absurdities it leads to.' The argument is that if Damasippus had proved himself a madman, as his creditors declared, by losing money in speculation, then the creditors had still more proved themselves madmen by loaning him the money that he had lost. The *error* was the same, though the manifestations of it were different.

67 f. **excors**: = *insanus.* — **praesens Mercurius**: a creditor who offered money with the full understanding that it was never to be repaid would be to the debtor like the very god of riches in person.

67–71. These words are addressed to the lender of the money and the general sense is plain: 'take all the precautions you can, ten notes or, if ten are not enough, a hundred, a thousand; yet you must certainly know that your debtor can slip through them all, as Proteus slips through all bonds.' Nerius is the banker who pays over the money on an order from the creditor. With *decem* some general word like *scripta* was in Horace's mind, but the sentence is interrupted by the hasty words *non est satis* and when the thought is resumed, *tabulas* takes the place of the object; ten copies of the entry or order are not enough. Cicuta is a money-lender (referred to only here and in vs. 175) who is especially skilful in drawing up

reiecta praeda, quam praesens Mercurius fert?
Scribe decem a Nerio; non est satis: adde Cicutae
nodosi tabulas centum, mille adde catenas:
effugiet tamen haec sceleratus vincula Proteus.
Cum rapies in ius malis ridentem alienis,
fiet aper, modo avis, modo saxum, et, cum volet, arbor.
Si male rem gerere insani est, contra bene sani,
putidius multo cerebrum est, mihi crede, Perelli
dictantis quod tu numquam rescribere possis.
Audire atque togam iubeo componere, quisquis
ambitione mala aut argenti pallet amore,

legally binding forms of obligation; *nodosi* and *catenas* express the same figure. The creditor is not named here, though, as the thought becomes more definite (cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 15, and 20), he is called Perellius. Proteus is the sea-god who prophesies only when he is caught and held and who changes himself into many forms (vs. 73) to escape his captor. [The difficulty of this passage centers in *scribe decem a Nerio*, and it is the desire to make the sense of the whole passage square with our really insufficient knowledge of the technical terms and the method of procedure that has led Bentley and Kiessling into forced interpretations.]

72. **malis ridentem alienis**: a parody of the Homeric οἱ δ' ἤδη γναθμοῖσι γελώων ἀλλοτρίοισιν (*Od.* 20, 347). But the phrase, which is perhaps proverbial, occurs only once in Homer, and the situation there is highly tragic and dramatic; the suitors laughed because Athene had taken away their judgment, but woe was in their hearts. Some such sense as *unnatural, hysterical laughter* would perhaps fit both passages, but it is possible that Horace merely translated the phrase literally, without attaching a definite meaning to it.

75 f. **putidius**: another synonym for *insanius*. — **dictantis**: *i.e.* attending carefully to the exact wording of the document. — **rescribere**: *repay* by another written document; cf. *scribe*, vs. 69.

77–81. The introduction to the formal sermon. Both in the elaborate manner and in the matter it is a parody of Stoic teaching. It is addressed to other hearers than Damasippus, but it is not necessary to suppose that Horace meant to represent Stertinius as still standing on the *pons Fabri-*

quisquis luxuria tristive superstitione
aut alio mentis morbo calet; huc propius me,
dum doceo insanire omnis vos ordine, adite.
Danda est ellebori multo pars maxima avaris;
nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem.
Heredes Staberi summam incidere sepulchro,
ni sic fecissent, gladiatorum dare centum
damnati populo paria atque epulum arbitrio Arri,

*cius*; rather, this is some discourse noted down at a later time by the new convert. — **togam componere**: to intimate that the sermon was to be a long one. — **ambitione**: this is taken up second in the discourse, though here named first. — **pallet**: pale with the chill of fear, while *calet* refers to the fever of passion. — **omnis vos ordine**: *all from first to last*; this use of *ordine* with *omnis* is colloquial and common in Plautus; *Amph.* 599, *Capt.* 377, *Most.* 552, etc. [*M. G.* 875, which is sometimes referred to as evidence that *ordine* goes with *doceo*, has been misunderstood; it is like the other Plautine passages.]

82 f. **ellebori**: *hellebore* was the recognized medicine for cases of insanity. It grew especially about Anticyra, in Phocis. — **nescio an**: with an implication of the affirmative, *I don't know but*. — **ratio**: *reason, i.e. philosophy*, as in *Sat.* 1, 3, 78, 115; here with special thought of philosophy as a cure of souls.

84. **Staberi**: unknown. He need not have been a real person, but one such inscription is extant and the rich man in Petronius (71) expresses his desire to have the amount of his fortune put on his tombstone.

85 f. **fecissent**: in indirect quotation from the will. — **damnati**: the technical word to express the penalty for failure to carry out the provisions of a will; the formula was *heres meus dare damnas* (= *damnatus*) *esto*. — **centum**: one hundred pairs of gladiators would be a very large number. — **arbitrio Arri**: a public feast that would be extravagant enough to suit even Q. Arrius, who had himself given a notoriously extravagant funeral feast. — **frumenti**: a third penalty, a distribution of grain, as much as would be produced in a season from Egypt, the grain-producing center for Italy. The three penalties are made excessive in order to express the anxiety of Staberius that the requirement of his will should not be neglected.

frumenti quantum metit Africa. 'Sive ego prave
seu recte hoc volui, ne sis patruus mihi;' credo
hoc Staberi prudentem animum vidisse. Quid ergo
sensit, cum summam patrimoni insculpere saxo
heredes voluit? Quoad vixit, credidit ingens
pauperiem vitium et cavit nihil acrius, ut, si
forte minus locuples uno quadrante perisset,
ipse videretur sibi nequior; omnis enim res,
virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulchris
divitiis parent; quas qui construxerit, ille
clarus erit, fortis, iustus. Sapiensne? Etiam, et rex,
et quicquid volet. Hoc, veluti virtute paratum,
speravit magnae laudi fore. Quid simile isti

87 f. **Sive ego**: a direct quotation from the will. — **ne sis patruus**: *don't refuse me;* cf. *Sat.* 2, 2, 77 note.

89 f. **hoc**: the hesitation of his heirs and their probable desire to avoid a requirement which they might think foolish; *sive prave, seu recte.* — **vidisse**: gets from *prudentem* the sense of *providisse; foresaw in his wisdom.* — **Quid ergo sensit**: *well, then, what was his idea?*

92. **ut**: a clause of result, without antecedent, as in *Sat.* 1, 1, 96.

94. **nequior**: *i.e.* just so much the worse man; he measured himself by his success in business.

95 f. **pulchris divitiis**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 44, *quid habet pulchri constructus acervus.*

97. **Sapiensne**: this question is interjected by the speaker to forestall the thought of a hearer; 'ah, but will he be a Stoic philosopher?' and the question is answered in the affirmative as the strongest possible expression of the value that men put upon money. The best commentary on the curt questions and answers here and below, 158 ff., 187 ff., is the remark of Cicero (*Parad.* 1, 2). 'Cato . . ., perfectus mea sententia Stoicus, . . . minutis interrogatiunculis, quasi punctis, quod proposuit efficit.' — On the Stoic Paradox here alluded to cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 124 and note. — **Etiam**: *yes;* often in colloquial Latin.

99. **Quid simile isti**: *i.e.* 'what is the likeness (or difference) between Staberius and Aristippus?' The question is repeated in more definite form in vs. 102, *uter . . . insanior?*

Graecus Aristippus? qui servos proicere aurum
in media iussit Libya, quia tardius irent
propter onus segnes. Vter est insanior horum?
Nil agit exemplum, litem quod lite resolvit.
Si quis emat citharas, emptas comportet in unum,
nec studio citharae nec musae deditus ulli,
si scalpra et formas non sutor, nautica vela
aversus mercaturis, delirus et amens
undique dicatur merito. Qui discrepat istis
qui nummos aurumque recondit, nescius uti
compositis, metuensque velut contingere sacrum?
Si quis ad ingentem frumenti semper acervum

100. **Aristippus**: of the town of Cyrene, the founder of the Cyrenaic (or Hedonic) school of philosophy, whose fundamental doctrine is stated by Horace, *Epist.* 1, 1, 19, *et mihi res, non me rebus, subiungere conor*, 'things were made for man, not man for things.'

103. 'There is no force in an illustration which proposes to answer one question by asking another.' The introduction of Aristippus serves the same purpose in the argument as the mention of Naevius and Nomentanus in *Sat.* 1, 1, 101 f., and the reply there, *pergis pugnantia secum . . . componere*, means essentially the same thing as this line.

104. **emptas comportet in unum**: 'and, as soon as he has bought them, piles them up together,' as a miser stores his money. Cf. Livy, 1, 5, 3. *latrones . . . Remum cepisse, captum regi Aemulio tradidisse.*

105. **musae . . . ulli**: *to any kind of music.*

106. **non sutor**: *though he was not a shoemaker.*

107. **aversus mercaturis**: merely a variation in phrase for *non nauta*. The *mercator* was a trader by sea (*Sat.* 1, 1, 6).

108. **undique**: *on all sides, i.e.* by everybody. — **Qui discrepat istis**: exactly the same in effect as *quid simile isti* (99).

109 f. **nummos aurumque**: since the coined money was chiefly silver, this double phrase is like 'silver and gold,' a double expression for a single idea. — **nescius uti**: like *nescis quo valeat nummus* (*Sat.* 1, 1, 73), as *metuens . . . sacrum* repeats *tamquam parcere sacris* (*Sat.* 1, 1, 71).

111 ff. The thought of this passage — that mere accumulation

porrectus vigilet cum longo fuste, neque illinc
audeat esuriens dominus contingere granum,
ac potius foliis parcus vescatur amaris;
si positis intus Chii veterisque Falerni
mille cadis — nihil est, tercentum milibus — acre
potet acetum; age, si et stramentis incubet, unde-
octoginta annos natus, cui stragula vestis,
blattarum ac tinearum epulae, putrescat in arca:
nimirum insanus paucis videatur, eo quod
maxima pars hominum morbo iactatur eodem.
Filius aut etiam haec libertus ut ebibat heres,
dis inimice senex, custodis? Ne tibi desit?
Quantulum enim summae curtabit quisque dierum,

is folly — is much like parts of *Sat.* 1, 1. In order to maintain the Stoic tone, the details are carried out to the point of extravagance (114, 116, 125), but the underlying idea is so distinctly Horace's own that the fiction of the Stoic preacher is almost forgotten.

112. **porrectus vigilet**: cf. *indormis inhians*, *Sat.* 1, 1, 71.

117 f. **acetum**: cf. *veteris non parcus aceti*, *Sat.* 2, 2, 62. — **age**: as if a new and still more striking illustration had suddenly occurred to him. — **unde-octoginta**: a little more emphatic than the round number would be; 'just short of eighty,' 'all but eighty years old.'

120. **paucis**: used unexpectedly instead of *multis* or *omnibus*, to preserve the Stoic doctrine that only the *sapiens* is sane.

121. **iactatur**: of the tossing about of a fever-stricken man.

122. **libertus**: the wretched condition of the old miser is increased by the suggestion (more fully expressed in *Sat.* 1, 1, 80 ff.) that he has alienated his natural heirs. — **ebibat**: with special reference to the preceding illustration, vss. 115–117, though of course with general application to 111 ff. and 117 ff. The same thought was afterward more effectively expressed by Horace in *Carm.* 2, 14, 25 ff.

123. **dis inimice**: *God-forsaken.*

124. **enim**: not *for*, but like the English use of *now* or *why* to strengthen an argumentative question. — **summae**: dat.; for the sense cf. vs. 84. — **quisque dierum**: *i.e.* each of the few days still left to a man of your age.

126 f. These details of per-

unguere si caules oleo meliore caputque
coeperis impexa foedum porrigine? Quare,
si quidvis satis est, periuras, surripis, aufers
undique? Tun' sanus? Populum si caedere saxis
incipias servosve tuos quos aere pararis,
insanum te omnes pueri clamentque puellae:
cum laqueo uxorem interimis matremque veneno,
incolumi capite es? Quid enim? Neque tu hoc facis
Argis,

sonal untidiness and moral obliquity are part of the conventional picture of the miser. They are used occasionally in *Sat.* 1, 1 (*e.g.* vss. 96 ff.), but always with a humorous recognition of their extravagance; here the fanatical Stoic attributes the sins of the individual (a malefactor of great wealth) to the whole class, as if he were using a serious argument. — **si quidvis satis est**: *i.e.* 'if you accept the doctrine of philosophy that enough is as good as a feast.' Cf. Turpil. 144 R., *ut philosophi aiunt isti quibus quidvis sat est*, and *Sat.* 1, 1, 59, *qui tantuli eget quanto est opus.*

128–141. 'You in your senses? Most certainly not. To be sure, the common judgment is that madness shows itself in violence, but when you poison your mother, do you think that the absence of violence proves you sane? What, you think it does? You are no Orestes, you say, the madman who went to Argos and killed his mother with a sword, for you did the deed without bloodshed and not in Argos either. But it is the crime, not the manner or the place of it, that proves a man mad. As to Orestes, his madness began before his violent outbreak and in fact, after the act that is commonly considered evidence of his madness, his conduct was most normal and exemplary — except a little harmless cursing.'

129. **servos tuos**: a little hit at the lover of money, who would be quite unlikely to injure the money-value of his own slaves.

130. **pueri . . . puellae**: proverbial, as in *Sat.* 1, 1, 85.

131. **cum . . . interimis**: *i.e.* 'when you are engaged in some quiet crime, all in the family.' There is, of course, no implication that any such crime has been committed; much less, as is generally said, that the miser had murdered his mother for her money. That motive is suggested in the parallel passage, *Sat.* 2, 1, 53 ff., but not here.

132. **Argis**: locat. from *Argi*. The point is to show that the

nec ferro ut demens genetricem occidis Orestes.
An tu reris eum occisa insanisse parente,
ac non ante malis dementem actum Furiis quam
in matris iugulo ferrum tepefecit acutum?
Quin, ex quo est habitus male tutae mentis Orestes,
nil sane fecit quod tu reprehendere possis:
non Pyladen ferro violare aususve sororem
Electram, tantum maledicit utrique, vocando
hanc Furiam, hunc aliud, iussit quod splendida bilis.
Pauper Opimius argenti positi intus et auri,
qui Veientanum festis potare diebus
Campana solitus trulla vappamque profestis,

manner of the crime is wholly unessential, as unessential as the place where it was committed.

134. **occisa insanisse**: 'that his madness began *after* he had killed his mother.'

135. **dementem actum**: *driven mad.*

137. **Quin**: '*why, on the contrary.*' — **male tutae**: *non tutae;* one of the synonyms for *insanus.*

138. **sane**: strengthening *nil; he certainly did nothing.*

139 ff. **Pyladen, Electram**: the friend and the sister who had helped him to carry out his purpose. The passage in which he calls his sister a Fury is in Euripides, *Orest.* 264, but there is no place in an extant play in which he uses hard words of Pylades. The whole reference in 140 f. has nothing to do with the argument; it may be introduced as a bit of Stoic precision in trifles or it may be mere burlesque of a tragic situation. — **splendida bilis**: bile was considered to be the cause of madness and *splendida* is apparently used literally, *shining*, from the descriptions in medical books. — It is entirely in the manner of Horace to drop the argument here, without drawing a conclusion, and to go on without preface to a new illustration. Cf., *e.g.*, *Sat.* 1, 1, 67 f. and below, vss. 186 f.

142. **Opimius**: coined from *opimus*, as *Novius*, in *Sat.* 1, 6, 40, from *novus*, and contrasted with *pauper*. — **argenti**: gen. with *pauper.*

143 f. **Veientanum**: a poor wine, but better than *vappa*, mere lees of wine. — **Campana**: cheap ware, which Horace himself used for ordinary purposes (*Sat.* 1, 6, 118), though perhaps not for drinking. — **trulla**: the ladle, so that he

quondam lethargo grandi est oppressus, ut heres
iam circum loculos et clavis laetus ovansque
curreret. Hunc medicus multum celer atque fidelis
excitat hoc pacto: mensam poni iubet atque
effundi saccos nummorum, accedere pluris
ad numerandum; hominem sic erigit. Addit et illud,
'Ni tua custodis, avidus iam haec auferet heres.'
'Men' vivo?' 'Vt vivas, igitur, vigila, hoc age.'
'Quid vis?'
'Deficient inopem venae te, ni cibus atque
ingens accedit stomacho fultura ruenti.
Tu cessas? Agedum, sume hoc ptisanarium oryzae.'
'Quanti emptae?' 'Parvo.' 'Quanti, ergo?' 'Octussibus.' 'Eheu!
quid refert, marbo an furtis pereamque rapinis?'
Quisnam igitur sanus? Qui non stultus. Quid avarus?

did not need to have a drinking-cup.

147. **multum**: with *celer* and *fidelis*; cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 57.

148. **hoc pacto**: *i.e.* in the way which is described in the next verses.

149 **ff.** The details (*pluris* to make a little confusion, *iam*, *immediately*, *this very moment*) are added to show the directness of the appeal to the tenderest sensibilities of Opimius.

152. **vigila**: both in the literal sense and in the freer meaning. — **hoc age**: a general form of exhortation to pay attention; *attend to business!*

154. **ingens**: *immense*, with intentional exaggeration. — **fultura ruenti**: *fulcire* and its derivatives are used in a half-technical sense of food and stimulants, and the figure is carried on in *ruenti*.

155. **Tu cessas**: he hesitated at the thought of the expense. — **ptisanarium oryzae**: *rice-gruel.*

157. **furtis . . . rapinis**: *i.e.* the cost, which seemed to him so great, of the gruel which the doctor was trying to get him to take. — With this exclamation he falls back in despair.

158–160. On the short questions and answers cf. vs. 97 and note. They are all spoken by

Stultus et insanus. Quid, si quis non sit avarus,
continuo sanus? Minime. Cur, Stoice? Dicam.
Non est cardiacus (Craterum dixisse putato)
hic aeger. Recte est igitur surgetque? Negabit,
quod latus aut renes morbo temptentur acuto.
Non est periurus neque sordidus: immolet aequis
hic porcum Laribus; verum ambitiosus et audax:
naviget Anticyram. Quid enim differt, barathrone
dones quicquid habes, an numquam utare paratis?
Servius Oppidius Canusi duo praedia, dives

Stertinius, but the questions express the supposed attitude of a listener. The use of *Stoice*, however, with its suggestion of some slight scorn (cf. vs. 300), is not dramatically correct; cf. *crepat*, vs. 33 and note. — **continuo**: *i.e.* 'may we *at once* conclude that he is sane?'

161 f. **cardiacus**: *dyspeptic*. — **Craterum**: a physician of the Ciceronian time, referred to in *ad Att.* 12, 13, 1; 12, 14, 4, as worthy of confidence. — **Recte est**: sc. *ei*, but translate personally.

163. **temptentur**: a half-technical word of illness. The subjv. is used to imply that this is the reason given by Craterus for his refusal to let the patient get up.

164–167. The application of the story and the transition from the folly of avarice to the folly of ambition. — **periurus, sordidus**: these adjectives go back in particular to vss. 125 ff., but with a general reference to the avaricious man. — **immolet . . . porcum**: *i.e.* 'let him thank the gods for his sanity — so far.' In Plautus, *Men.* 289 ff., a pig is to be offered to the gods to bring about a recovery from insanity; here it is in gratitude for exemption from insanity; the two ideas are essentially the same. — **ambitiosus et audax**: *recklessly ambitious*. — **naviget**: 'he may as well engage passage for the land of hellebore;' *i.e.* he is beyond question a mad-man. — **barathro dones**: the emphasis through vs. 186 is upon the heavy expense of a political career, so that this paragraph serves as a transition from avarice, through its opposite, to ambition. — **numquam utare**: cf. *nescius uti compositis*, vss. 109 f.

168. **Canusi**: Canusium was not far from Venusia and this story of Servius Oppidius (*oppidum?*) belongs in the same class as the Ofellus satire (2, 2) and the story told by Cervius (*Sat.*

antiquo censu, gnatis divisse duobus
fertur, et hoc moriens pueris dixisse vocatis
ad lectum : 'Postquam te talos, Aule, nucesque
ferre sinu laxo, donare et ludere vidi,
te, Tiberi, numerare, cavis abscondere tristem,
extimui ne vos ageret vesania discors,
tu Nomentanum, tu ne sequerere Cicutam.
Quare per divos oratus uterque Penatis,
tu cave ne minuas, tu ne maius facias id
quod satis esse putat pater et natura coercet.
Praeterea ne vos titillet gloria, iure

2, 6, 77 ff.). They are bits of practical philosophy which are most appropriately clothed in the guise of homely tales from the country.

169 f. **antiquo censu**: *according to old-fashioned standards.* — **pueris**: they were still young enough for boyish games.

171. **talos, nuces**: for games like jack-stones and marbles. So Augustus (Suet. *Oct.* 83): *animi laxandi causa . . . talis aut ocellatis nucibusque ludebat cum pueris minutis.*

172 f. **sinu laxo**: the fold of the toga served as a pocket; in this case a pocket with a hole in it. — **donare**: with careless generosity. — **ludere**: *i.e.* to gamble and, occasionally, to lose. — **tristem**: *with anxious look.*

174. **ageret**: cf. *agit*, vs. 44. — **vesania discors**: *two different kinds of madness.* There is no suggestion of discord between the brothers.

175. **Nomentanum**: *Sat.* 1, 1, 102. — **Cicutam**: above, vs. 69.

176. **oratus**: agreeing with *uterque*, but the words must be freely rendered; 'wherefore I beseech you both.'

177. **minuas, maius facias**: the same idea of frugal contentment with a modest patrimony was urged upon Horace by his father (*Sat.* 1, 4, 107 f.) and, he says, became his rule of life (*Sat.* 2, 6, 7 f.).

178. **natura coercet**: *i.e.* within the limits set by natural desires; cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 50. Strictly, *quod* is the obj. of *coercet;* 'the patrimony which nature limits.'

179 ff. The warning against political ambition is apparently addressed to both sons, but it has little meaning in its application to Tiberius and, indeed, no connection at all with the first part of the story, the point of which is the *vesania discors*, the

iurando obstringam ambo: uter aedilis fueritve
vestrum praetor, is intestabilis et sacer esto.
In cicere atque faba bona tu perdasque lupinis,
latus ut in Circo spatiere et aeneus ut stes,
nudus agris, nudus nummis, insane, paternis?
Scilicet ut plausus, quos fert Agrippa, feras tu,
astuta ingenuum volpes imitata leonem!'
'Ne quis humasse velit Aiacem, Atrida, vetas cur?'
'Rex sum.' 'Nil ultra quaero plebeius.' 'Et aequam

contrast between the different dispositions of the two boys.

**181. intestabilis**: 'shall forfeit his legacy.' — **sacer esto**: the common legal formula for one who violates a law; here a part of the oath which the sons were to take.

**182. cicere, faba, lupinis**: gifts of food to the common people to win favor and votes. The reference is to customs in Rome, as the other local and personal allusions show (175, 183, esp. 185).

**183. latus . . . spatiere**: such a man is described in *Epod.* 4, 7 f.: *Sacram metiente te viam | cum bis trium ulnarum toga.* — **aeneus**: *i.e.* may have a bronze statue of you erected in some public place.

**185 f. Agrippa**: see introd. to this satire. Agrippa was one of the really influential men of the period. — The next line cannot be an allusion to the fable of the Ass in the Lion's Skin (*Sat.* 2, 1, 64 f.), and there is apparently no fable which quite corresponds to this; it may very well be general, 'like a fox who tries to act a lion's part.'

**187–207.** A scene in the camp before Troy. Ajax, having been defeated in the contest for the arms of Achilles and becoming insane from disappointment, attacks the flocks of sheep under the delusion that they are his rivals and finally takes his own life. Agamemnon forbids the burial of the body and a common soldier comes to remonstrate. There is no attempt to avoid anachronisms; on the contrary, the humor consists largely in the introduction into a Homeric situation of modern words, like *plebeius*, *consulere*, and of Stoic forms of sentence and methods of argument.

**187. Ne quis . . . velit**: legal phraseology, in which the perf. infin. is often used.

**188 f. Et aequam**: the pretended humility of the soldier obliges the king to add a further

rem imperito; ac si cui videor non iustus, inulto
dicere quod sentit permitto.' 'Maxime regum,
di tibi dent capta classem reducere Troia!
Ergo consulere et mox respondere licebit?'
'Consule.' 'Cur Aiax, heros ab Achille secundus,
putescit, totiens servatis clarus Achivis?
Gaudeat ut populus Priami Priamusque inhumato,
per quem tot iuvenes patrio caruere sepulchro?'
'Mille ovium insanus morti dedit, inclutum Vlixen
et Menelaum una mecum se occidere clamans.'
'Tu, cum pro vitula statuis dulcem Aulide gnatam
ante aras, spargisque mola caput, improbe, salsa,
rectum animi servas?' 'Quorsum?' 'Insanus quid
enim Aiax

justification; 'and, besides, what I am ordering is just.' The rest of the sentence is a still more rapid descent from *rex sum*. — **inulto**: *with impunity*.

191. A complimentary wish, to introduce the request with a courteous formula; translated from the Iliad, 1, 18 f.

192. **consulere**: the technical term for consulting a jurist. — **mox respondere**: the jurist then gave his formal 'opinion' upon the case. Strictly, the thought would require *tibi libebit* instead of *licebit* with *respondere*.

194. **putescit**: *i.e.* lie unburied.

195. **Gaudeat**: from the Iliad, 1, 255.

197. **Mille**: a subst. with the gen. This construction is common in early Latin, but is retained in the classical period only rarely in the singular. — **insanus**: this turns the dialogue in the desired direction.

199. **pro vitula**: the important words and the basis of the argument that follows; 'of course Ajax was mad when he mistook a sheep for a man, but so also were you when you mistook your daughter for a heifer.'

200. **mola . . . salsa**: the sprinkling of salted meal on the head of the victim was a part of the ordinary ceremonial, but its mention here serves to make the scene more vivid.

201. **rectum animi servas**: another periphrasis for the frequently recurring idea of sanity. — **Quorsum**: *the point?* Short for *quorsum haec tendunt?* Cf. *Sat.* 2, 7, 21.

fecit, cum stravit ferro pecus? Abstinuit vim
uxore et gnato; mala multa precatus Atridis,
non ille aut Teucrum aut ipsum violavit Vlixen.'
'Verum ego, ut haerentis adverso litore navis
eriperem, prudens placavi sanguine divos.'
'Nempe tuo, furiose.' 'Meo, sed non furiosus.'
Qui species alias veris scelerisque tumultu
permixtas capiet, commotus habebitur, atque
stultitiane erret nihilum distabit an ira.
Aiax immeritos cum occidit desipit agnos:
cum prudens scelus ob titulos admittis inanis,

**203. mala . . . precatus:** as the violent language of Orestes to his sister and his friend was not inconsistent with sanity (vss. 140 f.).

**204. ipsum:** Ulysses was his successful rival in the contest for the arms.

**205 f. adverso:** *hostile*, 'on a lee-shore.' — **prudens:** *intentionally*, after careful deliberation, not on a mad impulse. 'And the act was a pious one; I pacified the gods.'

**207. furiose:** a much stronger word than *insanus*. — At this point the dialogue ends as abruptly as it had begun and the following lines (208–213) are the comment of Stertinius.

**208 f.** The terms here used are colored with Stoic meanings. *Species* are the impressions received through the senses; if they do not correspond to the reality (*alias veris*), that fact is evidence of illusion, as in vss. 53–58. If they are still further distorted by passion (*tumultu permixtas*), the evidence of insanity is complete (*commotus habebitur*). The sense of *scelus* also is technical, for the Stoic refused to distinguish crime from madness (cf. vss. 278 ff.); *sceleris tumultu* is hardly more than *insano tumultu*.

**210.** stultitia: the fault of Agamemnon, who claimed *prudentia*. — ira: the cause of the madness of Ajax.

**212. titulos:** the inscriptions under the masks in the atrium of a Roman house. They recited the public offices held by each person represented and constituted the claim of the owner of the house to nobility. — **admittis:** the contrast with vs. 211 suggests that this is addressed to Agamemnon, as if he were present, but it is also addressed to the hearer, the ambitious man; 'when you

stas animo, et purum est vitio tibi, cum tumidum est, cor?
Si quis lectica nitidam gestare amet agnam,
huic vestem, ut gnatae, paret, ancillas paret, aurum,
Rufam aut Pusillam appellet, fortique marito
destinet uxorem, interdicto huic omne adimat ius
praetor, et ad sanos abeat tutela propinquos.
Quid? si quis gnatam pro muta devovet agna,
integer est animi? Ne dixeris. Ergo ubi prava
stultitia, hic summa est insania; qui sceleratus,
et furiosus erit; quem cepit vitrea fama,
hunc circumtonuit gaudens Bellona cruentis.
Nunc age, luxuriam et Nomentanum arripe mecum;
vincet enim stultos ratio insanire nepotes.

commit such a crime for empty honors . . .'

213. **stas animo**: the same figure as that in *commotus*, 219. — **tumidum**: absolute; 'when it is in the tumult of passion.' For this contrast with philosophic calm see Cic. *Tusc.* 3, 9, 19, where *in tumore*, *tumidus*, and *tumens* are all used absolutely, and esp. *sapientis autem animus semper vocat vitio, numquam turgescit, numquam tumet*.

214 ff. **gestare**: *i.e.* to have it carried. — **Rufam, Pusillam**: ordinary feminine names, taken at random. — **interdicto**: to be translated as a verb; 'the praetor would lay his interdict upon him and . . .' This was a regular proceeding under Roman law and this is only an elaborate way of saying that he would be adjudged insane.

221. **sceleratus**: cf. *sceleris tumultu*, vs. 208; the same contrast as that between *stultitia* and *ira*, vs. 210.

222. **vitrea**: not infrequent in this general sense, *glittering*, *dazzling*. — **fama**: = *gloria*, 179.

223. **Bellona**: an eastern goddess whose rites were celebrated with crazy orgies and self-inflicted wounds (*gaudens cruentis*).

224–280. The third head of the discourse, the folly of luxury.

224. **Nomentanum**: cf. vs. 175. — **arripe mecum**: = *arripiamus*, 'let us attack.' The verb is suited either to the Stoic preacher or to the satirist, 2, 1, 69.

225. **vincet . . . ratio**: cf. vs. 83 and *Sat.* 1, 3, 115. — **stultos**: with *insanire; are fools and madmen*.

Hic simul accepit patrimoni mille talenta,
edicit, piscator uti, pomarius, auceps,
unguentarius, ac Tusci turba impia vici,
cum scurris fartor, cum Velabro omne macellum,
mane domum veniant. Quid tum? Venere frequentes.
Verba facit leno: 'Quicquid mihi, quicquid et horum
cuique domi est, id crede tuum, et vel nunc pete vel
cras.'
Accipe quid contra iuvenis responderit aequus:
'In nive Lucana dormis ocreatus, ut aprum
cenem ego; tu piscis hiberno ex aequore verris;
segnis ego, indignus qui tantum possideam: aufer!

226-238. A picture of the Rake's Progress, not inferior in its irony and its real moral power to Hogarth's engravings. The effectiveness of it lies in the artifice of representing the essentials of a spendthrift's career as if the events had actually occurred in this bare form. For Horace does not mean that such a gathering as this took place or that these words were uttered, but that this is what the whole story really amounts to, if we go below the surface. There is a grave irony in the lines and the burlesque of the Stoic manner is dropped.

227 ff. **edicit**: *proclaims* by his attitude and conduct. Cf. *Sat.* 2, 2, 51 for a similar, ironical use of this formal word. — **piscator, pomarius, . . .** : purveyors of various luxuries. — **Tusci . . . vici**: a street leading from the Forum toward the river, one of the disreputable quarters of the city. — **scurris**: a *scurra* was a hanger-on of some richer man, a professional diner-out who lived by his wits. — **fartor**: perhaps *the sausage-maker*. — **Velabro**: a street opening from the *Tuscus vicus*, a center of the trade in various kinds of provisions. — **Quid tum**: *what next?*

231. **leno**: the procurer is the suitable spokesman.

233. **aequus**: *fair-minded;* for their valuable services he proposes to make a fair return.

234. **Lucana**: the boars of Lucania were especially esteemed for food. — **ocreatus**: greaves were worn to protect the hunter from the tusks of the boar. These details of hardship and danger carry on the irony of *aequus*.

235. **hiberno**: cf. *Sat.* 2, 2, 16 f.

237. **deciens**: sc. *centena milia sestertium, a million*, of course an absurd sum.

sume tibi deciens; tibi tantundem; tibi triplex,
unde uxor media currit de nocte vocata.'
Filius Aesopi detractam ex aure Metellae,
scilicet ut deciens solidum absorberet, aceto
diluit insignem bacam: qui sanior ac si
illud idem in rapidum flumen iaceretve cloacam?
Quinti progenies Arri, par nobile fratrum,
nequitia et nugis pravorum et amore gemellum,
luscinias soliti impenso prandere coemptas,
quorsum abeant? Sanin' creta, an carbone notandi?
Aedificare casas, plostello adiungere mures,

238. **unde**: = *a quo*. — Notice again the abrupt ending of one story and beginning of another.

239. **Aesopi**: a distinguished actor of Cicero's time, of whose follies some reports have come down to us. He left to his son, however, a large fortune and a taste for extravagance. — **Metellae**: probably the wife of Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, several times referred to in Cicero's letters.

240. **solidum**: agreeing with *deciens* as a substantive; 'a whole million,' somewhat as we say 'a lump sum.' —This story is also connected with Antony and Cleopatra. But pearls do not dissolve in wine or vinegar.

243. **Arri**: cf. vs. 86 and note. — **par nobile fratrum**: often quoted as if *nobile* meant *noble* and were used here ironically. It is the not infrequent use of *nobilis* in precisely the sense of *notus*, with either a good or a bad sense; here *notorious*.

244 f. **pravorum**: with *amore*. — **gemellum**: agreeing with *par*, but to be rendered freely. — **impenso**: *at vast expense*. Stories quite incredible have come down to us of the cost of a single nightingale.

246. **quorsum abeant**: *into which class shall they be put?* — **creta, carbone**: so *albus et ater*, *Epist.* 2, 2, 189, and *albus an ater homo*, Catull. 93, 2. All these are merely expressions of the natural association of black with evil and white with good. For completeness *insani* would be used with *carbone*, but it is unnecessary to supply it.

247–280. The madness of lovers. This subject is not announced in the introduction (vss. 77–81), but may be considered to be included under the third heading, the passion for luxury.

ludere par impar, equitare in arundine longa,
si quem delectet barbatum, amentia verset.
Si puerilius his ratio esse evincet amare,
nec quicquam differre utrumne in pulvere, trimus
quale prius, ludas opus, an meretricis amore
sollicitus plores, quaerǫ, faciasne quod olim
mutatus Polemon, ponas insignia morbi,
fasciolas, cubital, focalia, potus ut ille
dicitur ex collo furtim carpsisse coronas,
postquam est impransi correptus voce magistri?
Porrigis irato puero cum poma, recusat:
'Sume, catelle!' negat; si non des, optet: amator

247–249. The children's games here mentioned are still in vogue. — **barbatum**: *i.e.* after he had come to manhood. — **amentia verset**: synonym for *insanus sit*.

250. **amare**: subj. of *esse*, of which *puerilius* is predicate.

251 f. **in pulvere**: *in the sand*, with a suggestion of the waste of labor which is again expressed in *ludas opus*, 'fool away your labor.' — **prius**: agreeing with *opus* to be supplied and referring back to vss. 247 ff.

254. **Polemon**: an example of the reforming power of philosophy, often referred to by Greek and Latin writers. He was a young clubman in Athens who, as he was returning from a drinking-bout, heard the voice of Xenocrates expounding the philosophy of the Academic school. He entered the room, was immediately converted (*mutatus*) by the doctrine, and afterward became the successor of Xenocrates as head of the school.

255. **fasciolas**: bindings about the ankle, a kind of decorative garter. — **cubital**: an *elbow-cushion*, apparently carried about for use at any time. — **focalia**: wrappings for the throat, *neckcloths*. These are all signs of that effeminacy an affectation of which was fashionable in the Augustan period; it is difficult to tell in regard to Maecenas, for example, how far it was real and how far assumed.

256. **furtim**: as he began to realize how the signs of dissipation looked to serious people. — **coronas**: he was still wearing flowers from the banquet.

257. **impransi**: cf. *Sat.* 2, 2, 7.

259. **catelle**: a humorous term of mingled reproval and endearment, without any of the suggestions of the English 'puppy' or 'whelp'; *little scamp, little rogue*.

exclusus qui distat, agit ubi secum eat an non,
quo rediturus erat non arcessitus, et haeret
invisis foribus? 'Nec nunc, cum me vocat ultro,
accedam, an potius mediter finire dolores?
Exclusit; revocat: redeam? Non, si obsecret.' Ecce
servus, non paulo sapientior: 'O ere, quae res
nec modum habet neque consilium, ratione modoque
tractari non volt. In amore haec sunt mala, bellum,
pax rursum: haec si quis tempestatis prope ritu
mobilia et caeca fluitantia sorte laboret
reddere certa sibi, nihilo plus explicet ac si

**260. qui distat**: cf. *quid simile*, vs. 99; *qui discrepat istis*, vs. 108. The endeavor to prove all men equally mad leads to the frequent use of this kind of phrase. — **agit**: *considers, argues.*

**262 ff.** This passage is a transposition of the first lines of Terence's *Eunuchus* from iambic senarii into hexameters. The corresponding verses of the *Eunuchus* (46 ff.) are as follows: —

Phaedria, the lover, speaks: —

> Quid ígitur faciam? nón eam ne núnc quidem
> quam accérsor ultro? an pótius ita me cómparem,
> non pérpeti meretrícum contumélias?
> exclúsit; revocat: rédeam? non, si me óbsecret.

Parmeno, the slave, replies (vss. 57 ff.): —

> ere, quaé, res in se néque consilium néque modum
> habet úllum, eam consílio regere nón potes.
> in amóre haec omnia ínsunt vitia: iniúriae,
> suspíciones, ínimicitiae, indútiae,
> bellúm, pax rursum; incérta haec si tu póstules
> ratióne certa fácere, nihilo plús agas
> quam sí des operam ut cúm ratione insánias.

**265. sapientior**: the confidential slave in the comedies is usually in the position of advisor to his young master.

**267. non volt**: *i.e. cannot*, does not submit to such treatment.

**268 f. tempestatis . . . ritu**: *changeable as the weather.* In this use *ritu* is no more than *modo.* — **caeca . . . sorte**: the direct opposite of *certa ratione.*

**270. explicet**: *untangle, straighten out, i.e.* reduce the matter to system and certainty.

insanire paret certa ratione modoque.'
Quid? cum, Picenis excerpens semina pomis,
gaudes si cameram percusti forte, penes te es?
Quid? cum balba feris annoso verba palato,
aedificante casas qui sanior? Adde cruorem
stultitiae, atque ignem gladio scrutare. Modo, inquam,
Hellade percussa Marius cum praecipitat se,
cerritus fuit? An commotae crimine mentis
absolves hominem, et sceleris damnabis eundem,
ex more imponens cognata vocabula rebus?

272 f. **Picenis**: specified merely for vividness. Picenum was a region of good orchards. — The moist appleseeds were pinched out between the thumb and the forefinger; if one could be made to strike the ceiling (*cameram*), it was an omen of success in love.

274 f. **feris**: the words of love are stammering because the organs of speech (*palato*) are those of an old man and the sounds stumble over them. For the rather forced *feris* Persius, imitating this passage (in 1, 35), uses *tenero supplantat* ('trips up') *verba palato*. — **aedificante**: this refers back to vs. 247.

275. **cruorem**: *i.e.* the violent crimes into which men are led by love.

276 f. **ignem . . . scrutare**: a reference to the Pythagorean saying πῦρ μαχαίρᾳ μὴ σκαλεύειν, but with a different sense, like *oleum adde camino*, vs. 321. — **Modo**: *just lately*; the murder and suicide had occurred just before this and had been much talked about, so that a bare allusion is enough. For the same reason *praecipitat* is used alone without *in Tiberim* or *de rupe*. The persons mentioned are unknown to us.

278. **cerritus**: *mad*; an old word of uncertain origin, used several times in Plautus.

278–280. 'Or will you acquit him of insanity and in the same breath call him a murderer, giving, as people do, different names to things which are really identical?' The interpretation is not quite easy, the difficulty being in *cognata*, *related*, *kindred*. The general sense is clear. The Stoic doctrine was that crime and madness were the same thing — *qui sceleratus, et furiosus erit*, 221 f. — and should be called by the same name; but the common way was to give them different names (*insania*, *scelus*) which are nevertheless alike (*cognata*) in meaning.

Libertinus erat, qui circum compita siccus
lautis mane senex manibus currebat et 'Vnum'
('quid tam magnum?' addens), 'unum me surpite morti,
dis etenim facile est!' orabat; sanus utrisque
auribus atque oculis; mentem, nisi litigiosus,
exciperet dominus cum venderet. Hoc quoque volgus
Chrysippus ponit fecunda in gente Meneni.
'Iuppiter, ingentis qui das adimisque dolores,'
mater ait pueri mensis iam quinque cubantis,
'frigida si puerum quartana reliquerit, illo
mane die, quo tu indicis ieiunia, nudus

**281–295.** Fourth head, the folly of superstition. This is a subject in which Horace felt little interest; he scarcely touches it elsewhere in the satires, and the brief treatment of it here is rather lifeless.

**281 f.** The details are not insignificant. The man was old, so that death was not far away; he was a freedman, probably a foreigner, and therefore more inclined to superstition; he observed the foreign (perhaps Jewish) customs of fasting (*siccus*) and of ceremonial washings (*lautis manibus*) and one shrine was to him as good as another (*circum compita*).

**282 f. Vnum:** not *me only*, in preference to others, but 'exercise your power just once — such a little thing to do.' — **surpite:** *surripite;* the shortened forms are colloquial.

**286 f. exciperet:** 'would have made a distinct exception' in giving a guaranty of soundness. The tense refers back to the time when he was still a slave. — **hoc . . . volgus:** the superstitious, as exemplified in the case just described, with the implication that there are many of them. — **fecunda . . . Meneni:** the general sense is plain, that the superstitious are to be reckoned among the insane, but no contemporary Menenius is known, to whom the allusion would apply.

**288 ff.** As so frequently, the next illustration begins abruptly, without explanation.

**289. cubantis:** *lying ill;* cf. *Sat.* 1, 9, 18.

**290 f. quartana:** one of the forms of recurrent malaria, *quartan chills.* — **illo . . . die:** there was no Roman week, but there are traces of the eastern week here and there in Latin literature. Tibullus (1, 3, 18) refers to *Saturni dies* (Sat-

in Tiberi stabit.' Casus medicusve levarit
aegrum ex praecipiti : mater delira necabit
in gelida fixum ripa febrimque reducet,
quone malo mentem concussa ? Timore deorum.'
Haec mihi Stertinius, sapientum octavus, amico
arma dedit, posthac ne compellarer inultus.
Dixerit insanum qui me, totidem audiet, atque
respicere ignoto discet pendentia tergo.
*Hor.* Stoice, post damnum sic vendas omnia pluris,
qua me stultitia, quoniam non est genus unum,

urday) and the *dies Iovis* was Thursday, *i.e.* Thor's day. On this day the stricter sects of the Jews fasted (*ieiunia*) and ceremonial bathing in the early morning (*mane*) was an Oriental observance. All this indicates that this instance, like the preceding, was regarded by Horace as foreign. Our native superstitions do not attract our notice.

292. **Casus medicusve** : not the god.

293 f. **ex praecipiti** : *from the crisis* of the illness. — **necabit . . . febrimque reducet** : *i.e.* 'will kill him by bringing back the fever.' — **fixum** : cf. *stabit* ; the child is to stand still, perhaps during prayer.

295. **quone** : cf. *uterne*, *Sat.* 2, 2, 107. — **Timore deorum** : the Greek δεισιδαιμονία, quite different from the Roman *pietas* or from that 'fear of God' which is the beginning of wisdom.

295–299. An epilogue, spoken by Damasippus in his own person and corresponding to the introduction by Stertinius, vss. 77–81. — **octavus** : as Sappho was sometimes called the Tenth Muse. — **amico** : spoken with pride that the great man calls him a friend. — **inultus** : amplified in the next two lines. — **totidem** : *i.e.* shall be called a madman himself. — **pendentia** : with reference to the fable of the two sacks ; the one in front contains the faults of other people, but each man puts his own faults into the sack that hangs behind him, where he will not see them.

300–326. The concluding conversation. Horace rouses himself after the long sermon and inquires with no expectation of a reply, whether it applies to him. Damasippus, with Stoic directness, points out various applications.

300. **sic vendas** : the introductory wish ; cf. vs. 16 note, vs. 191. — **pluris** : *at a profit*, so that he may, if he chooses, resume his life as a business man.

insanire putas? Ego nam videor mihi sanus.
*Dam.* Quid? caput abscissum manibus cum portat Agaue
gnati infelicis, sibi tum furiosa videtur?
*Hor.* Stultum me fateor (liceat concedere veris),
atque etiam insanum; tantum hoc edissere, quo me
aegrotare putes animi vitio? *Dam.* Accipe: primum
aedificas, hoc est, longos imitaris, ab imo
ad summum totus moduli bipedalis; et idem
corpore maiorem rides Turbonis in armis

**302. videor mihi sanus**: *i.e.* under the cover of asking for his particular form of insanity Horace is really implying that he is not insane at all. Damasippus goes straight to the point.

303 f. The story is told in the *Bacchae* of Euripides, where Agave, the mother of Pentheus, appears, carrying the head of her son, whom she and the other Bacchantes have torn to pieces, mistaking him in their frenzy for an animal. The argument is that, as no madman recognizes his condition, such a statement as *videor mihi sanus* proves nothing.

305 f. Horace represents himself as yielding to the Stoic's argument, as indeed he must, but he does it grudgingly, at first admitting only the milder *stultus* and then at last making full submission in *atque etiam insanum*. — **liceat**: *let me yield to facts*, *i.e.* 'permit me to yield as gracefully as I can.'

**306. edissere**: a rather formal word, *Tell me fully*. The question *quo . . . vitio?* repeats *qua ne stultitia . . . putas?* in different words and with much less confidence that the Stoic will find it a difficult question to answer.

307 ff. **primum**: as if there was to be a series of charges. — **aedificas**: this must be a reference to some building operations on Horace's farm. See introd. to this satire. — **longos**: *big people*, *i.e.* the rich; but the word is selected for its double meaning. The *Vita* of Suetonius says 'Horatius . . . habitu corporis fuit brevis atque obesus' and he speaks of himself as *corporis exigui* (*Epist.* 1, 20, 24). — **bipedalis**: of course ironical, as if he had said 'you who are little better than a dwarf in comparison with really big people like Maecenas.' — **idem**: with restrictive or adversative force, as often; cf. vs. 279. Translate, *in spite of that* or *and yet you*. — **Turbonis**: a gladiator of small size, but great spirit.

spiritum et incessum : qui ridiculus minus illo ?
An quodcumque facit Maecenas, te quoque verum est,
tantum dissimilem, et tanto certare minorem ?
Absentis ranae pullis vituli pede pressis,
unus ubi effugit, matri denarrat, ut ingens
belua cognatos eliserit. Illa rogare :
'Quantane, num tantum,' sufflans se, 'magna fuisset ?'
'Maior dimidio.' 'Num tantum ?' Cum magis atque
se magis inflaret, 'Non, si te ruperis,' inquit,
'par eris.' Haec a te non multum abludit imago.
Adde poemata nunc, hoc est, oleum adde camino ;
quae si quis sanus fecit, sanus facis et tu.
Non dico horrendam rabiem — *Hor.* Iam desine !
*Dam.* Cultum
maiorem censu — *Hor.* Teneas, Damasippe, tuis te.

312. Maecenas had laid out gardens and built a splendid palace on the Esquiline, to which Horace refers in *Sat.* 1, 8, 7 as if it were not yet completed. In *Epod.* 9, 3 and *Carm.* 3, 29, 10, Maecenas was living in it. Other passages (*Sat.* 2, 6, 31 ; 2, 7, 32 ff.) show that Horace was not unwilling to joke about his relation to his great friend. — **verum** : *proper, suitable.*

314 ff. The Fable of the Ox and the Frogs. Horace took the story from some Greek source, different from that of Phaedrus (1, 24).

317. **Quantane** : cf. *quone*, vs. 295.

320 ff. **non multum abludit** : *hits pretty near.* — **poemata** : the epodes and lyrics which Horace was beginning to write ; cf. vss. 11 ff. There is a similar reference to the divine inspiration of poets in *Sat.* 2, 7, 117, *aut insanit homo aut versus facit.* — **si quis . . . et tu** : *i.e.* you can no more be free from the insanity of the poet than others have been.

323. **rabiem** : cf. *Epist.* 1, 20, 25, *irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem ;* but cf. also *Sat.* 1, 9, 11 f., where he wishes he had a temper. The expression here is a humorous exaggeration. — **Iam desine** : it is, of course, a very neat touch to represent himself as made angry by the charge of having a hot temper. For the outbreak cf. *Sat.* 2, 7, 116 ff.

323 f. **Cultum** : *way of living.* — **censu** : here no more than *income*, not as in *Sat.* 2, 1, 75.

325 *Dam.* Mille puellarum, puerorum mille furores —
*Hor.* O maior tandem parcas, insane, minori!

326. This turns the teaching of Damasippus (vss. 298 f.) back upon himself.

## 4

The date of this satire cannot be fixed, but its character is such that the precise date is of no importance. It was probably written after *Sat.* 2, 2.

In form it is, like the preceding satire, a main body of discourse enclosed in a framework of dialogue. Horace meets upon the street an acquaintance who is hurrying home to commit to writing certain precepts of gastronomy which he had just heard. At Horace's request he consents to repeat them and after he has done so, in the main body of the satire (vss. 12–87), Horace, deeply impressed, begs that he may himself be allowed to attend the next lecture on the important subject and hear with his own ears. The introductory dialogue and the concluding request are less dramatic than the corresponding parts of the preceding satire, but they contrast in a somewhat similar way the enthusiasm of the believer with the attitude of Horace and they are admirable specimens of ironical deference.

The main discourse consists of a series of precepts for the selection and serving of the courses of a dinner. They follow in general the order of the Roman dinner, the *gustatio*, the main course, wines and sauces, and the dessert, with advice about the service of the table. Each precept is given separately, as if it were an oracle which needs no explanation or logical connection. The style is serious and almost epic, as befits the seriousness of the speaker, but there is no such parody of the manner of the philosopher as in Satires 2 and 3. The irony which is easily felt in the dialogue is here less apparent, especially to the modern reader, to whom many of the details of Roman cookery must remain unknown. The reader of Horace's time, however, would feel at once the absurdity of the precepts, both in general and in details, and would therefore be conscious of the humor of lines which to the modern reader are rather dull.

The speaker is called Catius and he is represented (vs. 11) as quoting from the discourse of an authority on gastronomy whose name he avoids giving. This is, in form, the same device that is used in *Sat.* 2, 3, where Damasippus quotes from Stertinius, and in *Sat.* 2, 7, in which the slave

repeats the teachings which he had learned from the door-keeper of Crispinus (vs. 45). Such machinery of the satirical form is not to be taken seriously; in *Sat.* 2, 7 it is plainly a mere joke and the Damasippus-Stertinius relation in *Sat.* 2, 3 serves only to give a background for the parody of Stoic preaching. Of the various identifications of Catius the only one which has both plausibility and point is the one proposed by Manso and revived by Palmer, that the name is a disguise of Matius, the friend of Cicero, Caesar, Trebatius and Augustus. But, in fact, the precise identification of either Catius or the mysterious *auctor* is of no more importance than the precise determination of the date of composition. The satire contains in itself its own best commentary. It is a bit of humorous and not unfriendly irony, directed primarily against some person whose name is ostentatiously withheld and, more broadly, against the science and art of gastronomy. So far as there is any personality in it, it is of a kind which would be especially understood and appreciated by Horace's intimate friends, and the satire belongs, in this respect, to the same class as *Sat.* 1, 9 and *Sat.* 2, 8. In all three there is the note of intimacy and it is not at all impossible that the learning of this satire is a parody of gastronomic conversations which Horace had heard at the table of Maecenas.

*Hor.* Vnde et quo Catius? *Cat.* Non est mihi tempus aventi
ponere signa novis praeceptis, qualia vincant
Pythagoran Anytique reum doctumque Platona.
*Hor.* Peccatum fateor, cum te sic tempore laevo
interpellarim; sed des veniam bonus, oro.
Quod si interciderit tibi nunc aliquid, repetes mox,
sive est naturae hoc sive artis, mirus utroque.

1. **Vnde et quo**: two questions condensed into one; cf. *Sat.* 1, 9, 62.

2. **ponere signa**: to set down or fix upon his mind, as he went along, the mnemonic signs which would assist him in recalling the whole discourse and putting it into writing.

3. **Anyti reum**: Socrates. In his trial Anytus was the chief accuser.

7. **naturae, artis**: the distinction between natural and artificial memory, by the aid of mnemonic signs (*imagines*, *signa*), was traditional in rhetoric, and is briefly discussed in *ad Heren.* 3, 16–17, 28–30.

*Cat.* Quin id erat curae, quo pacto cuncta tenerem,
utpote res tenuis, tenui sermone peractas.
*Hor.* Ede hominis nomen, simul et Romanus an hospes.
*Cat.* Ipsa memor praecepta canam, celabitur auctor.
Longa quibus facies ovis erit, illa memento,
ut suci melioris et ut magis alba rotundis,
ponere ; namque marem cohibent callosa vitellum.
Cole suburbano qui siccis crevit in agris
dulcior ; irriguo nihil est elutius horto.
Si vespertinus subito te oppresserit hospes,
ne gallina malum responset dura palato,
doctus eris vivam mixto mersare Falerno ;
hoc teneram faciet. Pratensibus optima fungis
natura est ; aliis male creditur. Ille salubris
aestates peraget, qui nigris prandia moris
finiet, ante gravem quae legerit arbore solem.

8. **id**: with a reference back to vs. 6; the idea is then amplified in *quo . . . tenerem*.

10–11. These lines suggest a joking reference to some friend, whose name would be known to the inner circle of readers. — **canam**: with a certain formality.

12. **facies**: *shape*.

14. **callosa**: *compact, solid*. — **vitellum**: *chick;* this is merely an elaborate way of saying that male fowls are hatched from long eggs.

15–16. **Cole**: *cabbage*. — **suburbano**: in a garden near the city water for irrigation would be more abundant. — **elutius**: *more insipid;* literally, *washed out*.

18. **malum responset**: *defy, resist*, as in Sal. 2, 7, 85, 103. — **dura**: *tough*, because the fowl was killed after the unexpected guest had appeared.

19. **doctus**: 'you will show yourself learned in the art of cookery by smothering it.'

20. **Pratensibus . . . fungis**: 'mushrooms that grow in the meadows.'

22. **moris**: *mulberries*. This advice about lunch and the preceding lines on the preparation of a fowl for supper show that there is no intention of following precisely the order of the courses of a dinner.

Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno,
mendose, quoniam vacuis committere venis
nil nisi lene decet; leni praecordia mulso
prolueris melius. Si dura morabitur alvus,
mitulus et viles pellent obstantia conchae
et lapathi brevis herba, sed albo non sine Coo.
Lubrica nascentes implent conchylia lunae;
sed non omne mare est generosae fertile testae;
murice Baiano melior Lucrina peloris,
ostrea Circeiis, Miseno oriuntur echini,
pectinibus patulis iactat se molle Tarentum.
Nec sibi cenarum quivis temere arroget artem,
non prius exacta tenui ratione saporum;
nec satis est cara piscis averrere mensa
ignarum quibus est ius aptius et quibus assis
languidus in cubitum iam se conviva reponet.

24–26. **Aufidius**: unknown. He is quoted with formality as a rival authority, to be refuted in the single word *mendose*. The *mulsum*, a mixture of wine and honey, was drunk at the beginning of the meal. The error of Aufidius was in using a strong wine, *forti Falerno;* the emphasis of the correction is upon *lene*, *leni*.

27–29. **Si . . . alvus**: *i.e.* for constipation. — **mitulus**: *mussel.* — **conchae**: a general term for shell-fish. — **lapathi**: *sorrel.* — **brevis**: *small-leaved*, or perhaps *low-growing.* — **Coo**: a Greek wine.

30. **conchylia**: another general term for shell-fish. The meaning of the line is that they should be gathered when the moon is increasing, during the first half of the lunar month.

32–34. **murice**: *cockle.* — **peloris**: *giant mussel.* — **echini**: *sea-urchins.* — **pectinibus**: *scallops.* These lines give the proper places for getting the best shell-fish of each kind, like Little Neck clams, Blue Point oysters.

36. **non prius**: *i.e.* 'until he shall have learned thoroughly.' — **tenui**: *fine*, *subtle*, as in vs. 9.

37. **averrere**: *to sweep up* from the table of the fish-dealer, but with a reference also to the use of nets in catching the fish.

38 f. **assis**: *broiled.* — **langui-**

Vmber et iligna nutritus glande rotundas
curvat aper lances carnem vitantis inertem;
nam Laurens malus est, ulvis et arundine pinguis.
Vinea submittit capreas non semper edulis.
Fecundae leporis sapiens sectabitur armos.
Piscibus atque avibus quae natura et foret aetas,
ante meum nulli patuit quaesita palatum.
Sunt quorum ingenium nova tantum crustula promit.
Nequaquam satis in re una consumere curam,
ut si quis solum hoc, mala ne sint vina, laboret,
quali perfundat piscis securus olivo.
Massica si caelo supponas vina sereno,
nocturna, si quid crassi est, tenuabitur aura,
et decedet odor nervis inimicus; at illa
integrum perdunt lino vitiata saporem.
Surrentina vafer qui miscet faece Falerna

**dus**: *i.e.* even a sated guest will raise himself again on his elbow at the sight of the appetizing dish.

**40–42. iligna glande**: *acorns.* — **curvat**: *bends;* the platters were of silver. — **vitantis inertem**: the important words; 'the epicure, the man who avoids tasteless meat, will get an Umbrian boar that has lived on acorns.' — **ulvis**: *sedge.*

**44. fecundae**: *prolific*, in general; but the use of the feminine appears to be intentional. The emphasis is upon *armos;* the true epicure will select for his guests the forelegs of the female hare. Cf. *Sat.* 2, 8, 89.

**46. ante meum**: cf. the claim to originality in vs. 73 and the similar claim in *Sat.* 2, 8, 51.

**47. promit**: *produces, i.e.* invents. The line seems to be a veiled reference to some particular person.

**50. securus**: *careless*, governing the clause *quali . . . olivo;* 'as if one should take great pains to get good wine, but be careless about the quality of the olive oil.'

**51–54. crassi**: *roughness, harshness* of taste. — **tenuabitur**: *will be refined out of it.* — **lino**: 'the straining of wine through a piece of linen spoils the flavor.'

**55–57. vafer**: cf. *doctus*, vs. 19, *sapiens*, vs. 44. — **faece**: a slight mixture of the lees of Falernian

vina, columbino limum bene colligit ovo,
quatenus ima petit volvens aliena vitellus.
Tostis marcentem squillis recreabis et Afra
potorem cochlea: nam lactuca innatat acri
post vinum stomacho; perna magis ac magis hillis
flagitat immorsus refici; quin omnia malit,
quaecumque immundis fervent allata popinis.
Est operae pretium duplicis pernoscere iuris
naturam. Simplex e dulci constat olivo,
quod pingui miscere mero muriaque decebit,
non alia quam qua Byzantia putuit orca.
Hoc ubi confusum sectis inferbuit herbis
Corycioque croco sparsum stetit, insuper addes
pressa Venafranae quod baca remisit olivae.
Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia suco;
nam facie praestant. Venucula convenit ollis;
rectius Albanam fumo duraveris uvam.
Hanc ego cum malis, ego faecem primus et allec,
primus et invenior piper album cum sale nigro

gives body to the light Surrentine wine. — **limum**: *the sediment*. — **volvens aliena**: *gathering the foreign matter*. — **vitellus**: *the yolk*.

58–63. Various kinds of food which will tempt the appetite of one who has taken much wine (*marcentem potorem*). — **Tostis . . . squillis**: *fried shrimps*. — **cochlea**: *snails*. — **lactuca**: *lettuce*. — **perna**: *ham*. — **hillis**: *sausages*. — **immorsus**: *bitten, i.e. stimulated* to fresh appetite.

63. **Est operae pretium**: an epic phrase.

64–69. The simple sauce consists of olive oil mixed with thick wine and brine (*muria*) from a jar in which fish from Byzantium had been pickled. This is called *duplex* when it has been poured over chopped herbs and boiled, then sprinkled with saffron and allowed to stand, and finally mixed with Venafran oil.

71. **Venucula**: *sc. uva*; grapes for preserving.

72. **duraveris**: *dry* into raisins.

73–75. **cum malis**: *i.e.* he first used raisins with fruit. — **allec**:

incretum puris circumposuisse catillis.
Immane est vitium dare milia terna macello
angustoque vagos piscis urgere catino.
Magna movet stomacho fastidia, seu puer unctis
tractavit calicem manibus, dum furta ligurrit,
sive gravis veteri craterae limus adhaesit.
Vilibus in scopis, in mappis, in scobe quantus
consistit sumptus? Neglectis, flagitium ingens.
Ten' lapides varios lutulenta radere palma
et Tyrias dare circum inluta toralia vestis,
oblitum, quanto curam sumptumque minorem
haec habeant, tanto reprehendi iustius illis
quae nisi divitibus nequeant contingere mensis?
*Hor.* Docte Cati, per amicitiam divosque rogatus,
ducere me auditum, perges quocumque, memento.
Nam quamvis memori referas mihi pectore cuncta,
non tamen interpres tantundem iuveris. Adde

something like caviare. — **incretum**: *sifted on*. — **puris . . . catillis**: on plates which held nothing else.

**76–77. milia . . . macello**: this is the same thing that is said in *vs.* 37, that mere spending of money is not enough. — **vagos**: the line expresses in high-flown language the rule that fish should not be crowded together on too small a platter.

**79. furta ligurrit**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 80 f.

**80. limus**: *sediment* left in the mixing bowl because it had not been properly washed.

**81. scopis**: *brooms*. — **scobe**: *sawdust* sprinkled upon the floor before sweeping.

**83 f.** The emphasis is upon *lutulenta* and *inluta*. — **palma**: a broom of palm leaves.

**86 f. illis quae**: in general, the things which only the rich can have; neatness requires only care, not money.

**88. Docte**: this is an ironical acceptance of the attitude of Catius, that such knowledge is true learning.

**91. interpres**: Catius can give only second-hand reports. — **Adde**: *and, besides, think of the look and bearing*. All this has especial point, if Horace was really refer-

voltum habitumque hominis, quem tu vidisse beatus
non magni pendis, quia contigit; at mihi cura
non mediocris inest, fontis ut adire remotos
atque haurire queam vitae praecepta beatae.

ring to some friend who was at times earnest in laying down the gastronomic law.

94 f. A parody of Lucret. 1, 927 and 4, 2, *iuvat integros accedere fontis atque haurire.*

## 5

The date of this satire is fixed by vss. 62 ff. The phrase *tellure marique magnus* would not have been used in the years just before Actium, when it was increasingly apparent that the supremacy by sea was still to be decided. After Actium there was a general expectation that Octavius would carry out the project of his uncle for a war of conquest in the East and it is to such expectations that *Parthis horrendus* refers. The satire was written soon after the battle of Actium, late in 31 or early in 30.

The subject-matter is the practice of seeking legacies. To treat this as a profession, however, is to take satire too seriously; it was a social evil, like free divorce or political bribery, which the satirist ridicules by assuming an ironical seriousness. The custom of leaving legacies, often small, but not infrequently of substantial amount, to many friends was already common in the Ciceronian period. It was to be expected that the custom would lead to the cultivation of friendships in the hope of a legacy and the tendency was strengthened by the large increase of wealth in the hands of men who did not know how to use it. Such men, often of the freedman class, sometimes without family connections, would be especially open to the flattering approaches of persons of higher position.

The satire is a continuation, in burlesque, of a scene in the Odyssey, 11, 90 ff. The shade of the Theban seer, Tiresias, meets Odysseus in the lower world and at his request tells him how he may secure his return to Ithaca and how he may summon the shade of his mother. After this interview the seer returns (vss. 150 f.) to the home of Hades. At this point Horace interjects the conversation which forms this satire. The selection of the venerable prophet of Thebes to give advice such as this is as happy as the selection of Trebatius in *Sat.* 2, 1, and Odys-

seus, with the mingling of the crafty and the heroic in his traditional character, is admirably suited to receive the doctrine.

Travesty of heroic legends had a considerable place in Greek literature, especially in comedy; Plautus has one example in the *Amphitruo* and Varro had used it in his *Saturae Menippeae*. It has been frequently used in modern literature; Thackeray's *Rebecca and Rowena* and Mark Twain's *A Yankee in King Arthur's Court* are familiar examples. Horace has combined the humor of travesty with the humor of pretended seriousness in the treatment of his subject-matter, like the seriousness of De Quincey in *Murder as a Fine Art*.

*Vlixes.* Hoc quoque, Tiresia, praeter narrata petenti
responde, quibus amissas reparare queam res
artibus atque modis. Quid rides? *Tiresias.* Iamne doloso
non satis est Ithacam revehi patriosque penatis
aspicere? *Vlix.* O nulli quicquam mentite, vides ut
nudus inopsque domum redeam, te vate; neque illic
aut apotheca procis intacta est aut pecus; atqui
et genus et virtus, nisi cum re, vilior alga est.

1. **praeter narrata**: *i.e.* the prophecy as to his safe return to Ithaca. *Narrare* in its colloquial sense, *tell*, *speak*.

2. **amissas . . . res**: the seer had told him of the havoc that the suitors were making of his property at home.

3. **Quid rides**: the seer smiled at the desire of Ulysses for a little more, after he had received so much. — **doloso**: a translation of the standing epithets πολύτροπος, πολυμήχανος, but with a touch of sarcasm.

4. **penatis**: the anachronism of the Roman idea is intentional.

5. **nulli . . . mentite**: so Tiresias says of himself (*Od.* 11, 96), νημερτέα εἶπω.

6. **nudus inopsque**: this had been distinctly said (*Od.* 11, 114 ff.). — **te vate**: *according to your prophecy*; not quite as if he doubted the seer, but as if he accepted it unwillingly. — **neque illic**: *nor*, *when I get there*.

7. **procis**: the suitors of Penelope, ἄνδρας ὑπερφιάλους, οἵ τοι βίοτον κατέδουσιν. — **apotheca, pecus**: the anxiety of Odysseus and of his son Telemachus about the consumption of provisions by the suitors, natural as it is to the Homeric simplicity, seemed to the Roman, as it seems to the modern reader, a little comic.

8. **vilior alga**: proverbial for worthlessness; the expression is perhaps selected with special ref-

*Tir.* Quando pauperiem, missis ambagibus, horres,
accipe qua ratione queas ditescere. Turdus
sive aliud privum dabitur tibi, devolet illuc
res ubi magna nitet domino sene; dulcia poma
et quoscumque feret cultus tibi fundus honores,
ante larem gustet venerabilior lare dives;
qui quamvis periurus erit, sine gente, cruentus
sanguine fraterno, fugitivus, ne tamen illi
tu comes exterior, si postulet, ire recuses.
*Vlix.* Vtne tegam spurco Damae latus? Haud ita
Troiae

erence to the sea-beaten Odysseus. — The sentiment of the line is, of course, intentionally unheroic.

9. **missis ambagibus**: *without any pretence*, in plain words.

10 ff. **Turdus**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 72. — **privum**: *for your own;* pred. with *dabitur*. The fact that it was the special property of the giver will add to its value in the eyes of the receiver. — **devolet**: with humorous effect, in both literal and figurative meaning. — **nitet**: *flourishes; i.e.* be sure that the property is large and unincumbered. — The abrupt beginning and the rather obscure expression is a parody of the ordinary style of prophecy, *obscuris vera involvens* (*Aen.* 6, 100).

13. **honores**: fruits and flowers, as in *Carm.* 1, 17, 16.

14. **ante larem**: the first-fruits were properly offered to the *Lar Familiaris*.

15. **sine gente**: *of no family;* a freedman or a slave had no legal claim to be *gentilis*. There is no necessary connection with *fugitivus*, since no definite person is in mind; the various discreditable attributes are piled together, as in *Carm.* 2, 13, 5 ff.; *Epod.* 3, 1 f.

17. **comes exterior**: 'to escort him, walking on his left side'; this is expressed in the next line by *tegam . . . latus*. It was the Greek and the Roman custom for the inferior, as escort, to walk on the left side. The explanation given was that the left side was more open to attack, the right being protected by the drawn sword. — **si postulet**: in the colloquial sense of *postulare, to expect, desire*.

18. **Vtne tegam**: a common form of repudiating exclamation. — **Damae**: a common name of a slave; cf. *Sat.* 1, 6, 38.

me gessi, certans semper melioribus. *Tir.* Ergo
pauper eris. *Vlix.* Fortem hoc animum tolerare iubebo;
et quondam maiora tuli. Tu protinus, unde
divitias aerisque ruam dic, augur, acervos.
*Tir.* Dixi equidem et dico: captes astutus ubique
testamenta senum, neu, si vafer unus et alter
insidiatorem praeroso fugerit hamo,
aut spem deponas aut artem illusus omittas.
Magna minorve foro si res certabitur olim,

**19. melioribus**: dat.; the phrase appears to be a reminiscence of *Il.* 21, 486, κρείσσοσιν μάχεσθαι and means 'with men of the better class,' Achilles and Ajax. — **Ergo**: *well, then.*

**20 f.** A translation of the words with which Odysseus encourages himself before the slaughter of the suitors, *Od.* 20, 18: τέτλαθι δή, κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης. The point of the quotation here is that the hero is encouraging himself to endure a humiliation (*hoc* means *comes . . . ire*) in order to make money. Cf. the similar remark in *Sat.* 1, 9, 59 f., *nil sine magno vita labore dedit mortalibus.*

**21. protinus**: *go ahead and tell me.* The completeness of the surrender of the heroic pose is emphasized by the moment of indignant repudiation.

**22. ruam**: transitive, in a vaguely poetic use; *rush together, quickly collect.* — **augur**: with intentional Roman coloring.

**23. Dixi . . . et dico**: he had not, in fact, said anything that was really intelligible, vss. 10–17 being obscure and having no apparent bearing on the getting of money. But it all seemed plain to the prophet, and he therefore speaks here with some impatience and then goes on to put it in words as plain as a prophet can use; *captes . . . testamenta.*

**25. praeroso**: *i.e.* nibbles off the bait and gets away. The figure is suggested in *captes* and carried on to greater distinctness in *praeroso hamo.*

**26. artem**: *i.e.* the *ars captandi, ars piscandi.* In so far as this hints at a profession of legacy-hunting, it is like our speaking of the profession of burglary or wire-pulling. — **illusus**: 'because you have failed once.'

**27. minorve**: added as an afterthought; 'an important case — or even one that is not so important,' for the diligent man allows nothing to escape him. — **olim**: *sometime;* of the future, as often.

vivet uter locuples sine gnatis, improbus, ultro
qui meliorem audax vocet in ius, illius esto
defensor; fama civem causaque priorem
sperne, domi si gnatus erit fecundave coniunx.
'Quinte,' puta, aut 'Publi' (gaudent praenomine molles
auriculae) 'tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum;
ius anceps novi, causas defendere possum;
eripiet quivis oculos citius mihi, quam te
contemptum cassa nuce pauperet; haec mea cura est,
ne quid tu perdas, neu sis iocus.' Ire domum atque
pelliculam curare iube; fi cognitor ipse.
Persta atque obdura, seu 'rubra Canicula findet

28 ff. **uter**: *whichever of the two* parties to the suit. — **improbus**: coördinate with *locuples* and defined by the following clause. — **ultro**: *actually;* going so far in his impudence (*audax*) as to bring a suit without justification. — **illius**: emphatic; '*that's* the man for you to back.' — **fama . . . causaque priorem**: a fuller expression of the idea in *meliorem;* the dignified *civem* adds to the contrast, the other being *sine gente*, a freedman. — **fecunda**: with the possibility of natural heirs.

32. **Quinte**: as a sign of familiarity and affection. The genuine Roman *praenomen* Quintus or Publius would be agreeable to the freedman, who during his slavery had had some foreign name like Dama or Syrus. — **puta**: *for instance.* As an impv. this has regularly a long *a*, but the final vowel of iambic impv. forms is often shortened in comedy, and as this word passed over into semi-adverbial uses, it retained the colloquial quantity.

34. **ius anceps**: *the uncertainties of the law*, with a suggestion of the tricks of the unscrupulous lawyer.

36. **contemptum**: with the force of a verb; *bring you into contempt.* — **cassa nuce**: a proverbial phrase (Plaut. *Pseud.* 371; *Rud.* 1324).

38. **pelliculam**: so *cutem curare*, *Epist.* 1, 2, 29; other objects (*membra*, *Sat.* 2, 2, 80 f., *corpora*, *se suamque aetatem*) are used with *curare* in the same general sense, 'to take care of one's health.' *Pelliculam* is used with special effect, *his precious health.* — **cognitor**: in the legal sense, *attorney.*

39. **Persta atque obdura**: a colloquialism; Plaut. *Asin.* 322, *pernegabo atque obdurabo;* Catull. 8,

infantis statuas,' seu pingui tentus omaso
Furius 'hibernas cana nive conspuet Alpis.'
'Nonne vides,' aliquis cubito stantem prope tangens
inquit, 'ut patiens! ut amicis aptus! ut acer!'
plures adnabunt thynni et cetaria crescent.
Si cui praeterea validus male filius in re
praeclara sublatus aletur, ne manifestum
caelibis obsequium nudet te, leniter in spem
adrepe officiosus, ut et scribare secundus
heres, et, si quis casus puerum egerit Orco,
in vacuum venias: perraro haec alea fallit.
Qui testamentum tradet tibi cumque legendum,

11, *perfer, obdura*; Ovid, *Trist.* 5, 11, 7, *perfer et obdura*.

39 ff. The quotations are from a lost poem of M. Furius Bibaculus, of Cremona, a contemporary of Cicero, still living at the time this was written and already alluded to in *Sat.* 1, 10, 36. The first phrase, *rubra . . . statuas*, meaning 'in extreme heat,' is turgid in conception and in single words, especially *infantis*, 'speechless.' The second is quoted also by Quintil. 8, 6, 17 as an example of poor rhetoric, with *Iuppiter* as the first word; Horace has substituted the poet's own name. The personal allusion in *pingui . . . omaso*, 'stuffed with fat tripe,' is offensive to modern taste and the particular justification for it is not known.

42. **prope**: with *stantem*; *standing next to him* in the law-court.

44. **cetaria**: this must mean a fish-pond or weir, which is at the same time a trap and a place for keeping fish alive until they are wanted for the table. The figure is not exactly the same as that in vs. 25.

45. **praeterea**: *furthermore*, introducing the special precepts of vss. 45–50. — **validus male**: = *invalidus*.

46. **sublatus**: *recognized*, lit., *taken up*; the new-born child was placed before the father, who recognized it as his by taking it up.

47. **caelibis**: objective gen. with *obsequium*. — **nudet te**: *expose you*, betray your plans to your victims.

48 f. **ut**: the clause is explicative of *spem*. — **secundus heres**: *i.e.* to inherit in case of the death of the first-named heir. — **Orco**: the seer uses epic language.

51–69. A warning against being taken in by the testator.

abnuere et tabulas a te removere memento,
sic tamen, ut limis rapias, quid prima secundo
cera velit versu ; solus multisne coheres,
55 veloci percurre oculo. Plerumque recoctus
scriba ex quinqueviro corvum deludet hiantem,
captatorque dabit risus Nasica Corano.
*Vlix.* Num furis? an prudens ludis me obscura canendo?
*Tir.* O Laertiade, quicquid dicam aut erit aut non :

51 ff. **Qui . . . cumque**: cf. *quando . . . cumque*, *Sat.* 1, 9, 33. — **memento**: *be sure*, *don't forget*. The point is to make a show of indifference to the question of money. — **sic tamen**: *in such a way*, *however*. — **limis**: sc. *oculis ;* the noun is so frequently omitted that in late Latin *limis* was mistaken for a nom. sing.; *with a side glance*. — **prima . . . cera**: the will was written on wax tablets with raised edges, which could be tied together and sealed. On the inside of the first leaf the name of the testator was written in the first line and the name of the heir in the second (*secundo versu*). The fixed position of the names made it easy to read them at a glance. — **quid . . . velit**: *what the first page says ;* the sense is different when *sibi* is added, as in vs. 61.

55 ff. This instance of the unhappy result of a neglect of the precautions just mentioned is put in the form of a reference to an event of Horace's time, which the seer relates as a prophecy (*deludet*, *dabit*) and in the ambiguous language of an oracle. Of course all the Roman words and names (*scriba*, *quinquevir*, *Nasica*, *Coranus*) are unintelligible to Ulysses, and the fable of the Fox and the Raven was unknown to him. — **recoctus**: *boiled over*, with a reference to the Medea legend. — **quinqueviro**: a subordinate police official — Coranus — who had risen to the unimportant office of *scriba*. The details increase the perplexity of Ulysses and help to make the whole incident ridiculous.

59 f. **aut erit aut non**: as Tiresias is supposed to mean it, this would be 'what I say will happen, will, and what I say will not happen, will not,' but the possible double meaning makes it a burlesque of the solemn claims of sooth-sayers. The verse is quoted by Boethius (*de Cons.* 5, 3) as *vaticinium illud ridiculum Tiresiae*. The absurdity is heightened

divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo.
*Vlix.* Quid tamen ista velit sibi fabula, si licet, ede.
*Tir.* Tempore quo iuvenis Parthis horrendus, ab alto
demissum genus Aenea, tellure marique
magnus erit, forti nubet procera Corano
filia Nasicae, metuentis reddere soldum.
Tum gener hoc faciet: tabulas socero dabit atque
ut legat orabit; multum Nasica negatas
accipiet tandem et tacitus leget, invenietque
nil sibi legatum praeter plorare suisque.

by the next verse in Homeric style. — **donat**: present, as if he felt the gift of the god at that moment.

61. The reply of Ulysses is more humble (*si licet*) than vs. 58, as if he had been impressed by the lofty tone of vss. 59–60. — **tamen**: *i.e.* '*but nevertheless* I should like to understand the story, if I may.' — **Quid . . . velit sibi**: *what it means*.

62 ff. The seer re-tells the story in plain language, with an introduction in the heroic style. On the date see introd. to this satire.

62 f. **iuvenis**: Octavius was a little over thirty. — **demissum**: cf. *Aen.* 1, 288, *a magno demissum nomen Iulo*. — **genus**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 6, 12, *Valeri genus*, in apposition with a proper noun, as here with *iuvenis*.

64. **forti, procera**: stock epithets (cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 216) used in derision in this case, where the inducement to the marriage was neither courage nor beauty, but the payment of a debt.

65. **metuentis**: the sense of *metuo* is frequently weakened, especially when it takes an infin., to meanings like *hesitate*, *be unwilling*; cf. *Carm.* 2, 2, 7, *penna metuente solvi*. — **soldum**: the syncopated colloquial form for *solidum*, *the principal* of the debt. The point is that as Nasica was unwilling to pay a debt (presumably to Coranus), he gave Coranus his daughter instead, hoping that the son-in-law would leave to him or to his daughter a sum which would more than counterbalance the debt. The relative age of father-in-law and son-in-law is left out of account, or the case is like the marriage of Pompey to Caesar's daughter.

66 ff. **tabulas**: the will, as in vs. 52. — **multum . . . negatas**: *i.e.* having made a great show of refusing, as advised in vs. 52. — **praeter plorare**: the prepos. gov-

Illud ad haec iubeo : mulier si forte dolosa
libertusve senem delirum temperet, illis
accedas socius ; laudes, lauderis ut absens ;
adiuvat hoc quoque, sed vincit longe prius ipsum
expugnare caput. Scribet mala carmina vecors :
laudato. Scortator erit : cave te roget ; ultro
Penelopam facilis potiori trade. *Vlix.* Putasne
perduci poterit tam frugi tamque pudica,
quam nequiere proci recto depellere cursu ?
*Tir.* Venit enim magnum donandi parca iuventus
nec tantum Veneris, quantum studiosa culinae.
Sic tibi Penelope frugi est, quae si semel uno

erns the infin. as a noun. *Plorare* means *to lament* and, as used in the will, it would mean that Coranus left to Nasica the legacy of grief which his death would cause, but with an ironical suggestion of the grief that he would feel at receiving no legacy in money. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 10, 91.

70–74. 'Do not disdain to play a second part as a helper to others who may be managing an old man.' — **ad haec**: cf. *praeterea*, vs. 45. — **mulier . . . libertusve**: *i.e.* under the most discreditable and humiliating influences. — **delirum**: *childish*; cf. Cic. *de Sen.* 11, 36, *senilis stultitia quae deliratio appellari solet.* — **ipsum . . . caput**: the old man himself.

74. **Scribet**: a condition expressed without *si*, in parataxis. — **vecors**: cf. *excors*, *Sat.* 2, 3, 67.

76 f. **potiori** : so in *Epod.* 15, 13. — **Putasne . . . poterit**: parataxis like the English, *do you think she can . . . ?* This is very common in colloquial Latin, *e.g.* Plaut. *Rud.* 1269, *censen hodie despondebit eam mihi ?*

78. **nequiere proci**: the faithfulness of Penelope had become in Horace's time the main element in the story of the suitors, and it is alluded to here as a well-known fact, but it had in truth been barely hinted at by Tiresias (*Od.* 11, 117) and would not be known to Ulysses.

79. **enim**: *of course, for.* — **magnum**: obj. of *donandi*, which depends upon *parca.* They gave gifts, but not big enough gifts; this adds a touch to the travesty of the heroic, to which, indeed, this part of the story is particularly exposed ; cf. *Od.* 18, 275–280.

81. **Sic . . . quae si**: *under such conditions* (with stingy suitors) . . . , *but if she* . . . — **semel**

de sene gustarit tecum partita lucellum,
ut canis a corio numquam absterrebitur uncto.
Me sene quod dicam factum est: anus improba Thebis
ex testamento sic est elata: cadaver
unctum oleo largo nudis umeris tulit heres,
scilicet elabi si posset mortua; credo,
quod nimium institerat viventi. Cautus adito,
neu desis operae, neve immoderatus abundes.
Difficilem et morosum offendet garrulus; ultra
non etiam sileas; Davus sis comicus, atque

**uno**: *just once from one old man.*

83. The line is a condensed comparison; 'it will be as hard to get her away as to . . .' — **a corio . . . uncto**: a Greek saying, like the English 'to drive a dog away from his bone.'

84–88. A story to enforce the need of caution in one's attentions. — **Me sene**: Tiresias had long been dead, and he refers back to the time when he was an old man, as an old man refers to his youth with *me puero* or *me iuvene*. Cf. *Sat.* 2, 2, 112 f., *puer . . . ego . . . Ofellum . . . novi.* — **sic est elata**: *i.e.* was to be carried out for burial, if the heir could fulfil the condition. — **scilicet . . . si**: *to see, you understand, whether*; this use of *si* is explained in the grammars. — **nimium institerat**: *i.e.* she had never been able to slip away from him while she was alive.

88. **Cautus**: the moral of the story, expanded in the following lines.

89. **operae**: dat., as in *haud mihi dero*, *Sat.* 1, 9, 56.

90 f. **Difficilem, morosum**: these words are used of old men by Cicero (*de Sen.* 18, 65). — **ultra**: 'don't even be *too* silent.' Cf. the rebuke of the impatient judge to the talkative lawyer: 'The Court wants nothing from you but silence — and not very much of *that*.' — **non**: there are occasional uses of *non* with a subjv. like this scattered through Latin writers [Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.*[3] § 205], especially in poetry and in Low Latin. Such instances are usually explained by connecting *non* with some single idea in the sentence, other than the verb, or by twisting the subjv. into a potential meaning. — **comicus**: *be like Davus in the comedy.* Davus was a stock name for the confidential slave.

stes capite obstipo, multum similis metuenti.
Obsequio grassare ; mone, si increbuit aura,
cautus uti velet carum caput ; extrahe turba
oppositis umeris ; aurem substringe loquaci.
Importunus amat laudari ; donec ' Ohe iam ! '
ad caelum manibus sublatis dixerit, urge,
crescentem tumidis infla sermonibus utrem.
Cum te servitio longo curaque levarit,
et certum vigilans, ' Quartae sit partis Vlixes '
audieris ' heres ' : ' Ergo nunc Dama sodalis
nusquam est ? Vnde mihi tam fortem tamque fidelem ? '

92. **capite obstipo**: this is the attitude of extreme deference, represented in vase-paintings and in the illustrated Ms. of Terence. — **multum**: with *metuenti;* 'like a man deeply respectful.' [Usually taken with *similis*, on the basis of *Epist.* 1, 10, 3 ; in that passage, however, the contrast demands an emphasis upon *dissimiles*, which is quite out of place here. There are parallels enough to the use of *multum* (as well as *multa*) with such a verb as *metuo.*]

93. **Obsequio**: the emphatic word ; it makes a slight intentional contrast with *grassare*, which carries the suggestion of approach with an unfriendly purpose ; *get at him by flattery.*

95. **substringe**: *i.e. gather up* your ear with your hand, as if anxious not to lose a word.

96. **Importunus**: *insatiate, exacting*, as in *Epist.* 2, 2, 185. — **amat**: a paratactic condition, like *scribet*, 74. — **Ohe iam**: the full form, *ohe iam satis est*, is used in *Sat.* 1, 5, 12 f. and *ohe iam satis* in Plaut. *Stich.* 734. The phrase was so fixed that the meaning was suggested without *satis.*

98. **tumidis**: *swelling*, in the active sense ; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3, 357, *tumido inflatur . . . Austro.* A similar figure is used in *Sat.* 1, 4, 19.

99. **levarit**: *shall release you* by his death.

100. **certum vigilans**: 'be perfectly sure that you are wide awake, that it is no dream.' — **Quartae sit**: as if quoted from the will, though the exact formula would be *Vlixes heres ex quadrante esto.*

101 f. **Ergo**: *so then ;* the conventional word to introduce an expression of grief. Cf. *Carm.* 1, 24, 5 ; Ovid, *Trist.* 3, 2, 1. — **sodalis**: cf. vs. 18, *spurco Damae.* — **nusquam est**: one of the many periphrases for death.

sparge subinde, et, si paulum potes, illacrimare : est
gaudia prodentem voltum celare. Sepulcrum
permissum arbitrio sine sordibus exstrue ; funus
egregie factum laudet vicinia. Si quis
forte coheredum senior male tussiet, huic tu
dic, ex parte tua seu fundi sive domus sit
emptor, gaudentem nummo te addicere. — Sed me
imperiosa trahit Proserpina : vive valeque !

103 f. **sparge** : the object is the preceding remark. — **paulum** : in sense with *illacrimare* as well as with *potes*. — **est** : *it is your part, it is for you to*. — **gaudia** : obj. of *prodentem*.

105 f. **permissum arbitrio** : *i.e.* when no specific directions are given. The emphatic words are *sine sordibus* and (in 106) *egregie factum*.

108 f. **sive sit emptor** : *if he should wish to buy*. — **nummo** : our formula is, 'for one dollar and other considerations'; the form of legal sale is gone through in order to make the gift valid.

110. **imperiosa** : so *saeva Proserpina*, *Carm.* 1, 28, 20 ; she is the mistress of the dreaded underworld. But there is a bit of travesty in the abruptness of the farewell, which is quite different from the dignified withdrawal of Tiresias in the Homeric scene, *Od.* 11, 150 f. The common formula of farewell, *vive valeque*, is also used with humorous effect.

## 6

This satire was written at about the same time as the preceding (2, 5), late in 31 B.C. or early in 30. The 'chilling rumor about the Dacians' (vss. 50, 53) refers to the popular fear of an invasion of Italy by the Daci after the battle of Actium, and the uncertainty in regard to the allotment of land to the veterans (vss. 55 f.) was terminated by the brief visit of Octavius to Brundisium early in 30. Other indications (38) point to the same date.

The connection of thought is simple : 'I now have in my Sabine farm more than I had dared to hope for, and my only desire is that my present happiness may continue without change. No better subject than this could offer itself to my humble Muse, as I begin the day here. For at Rome the day begins quite differently, with one engagement after another, and even though a visit to Maecenas may be one of them,

yet the pleasure is half spoiled by the requests of my acquaintances that I should use my influence with Maecenas on their behalf. They do not understand that my friendship with him has nothing to do with public affairs; in fact, we never speak of such things, and I am glad to escape from it all and get back into the country, and to hear the simple talk of my good neighbors, like Cervius' story of the Town Mouse and the Country Mouse.'

This satire is a partial return to the forms used in the First Book. The main body of the discourse (vss. 77–117) is, it is true, formally separated from the rest and put into the mouth of another speaker; in so far Horace uses the newer form with which he had been experimenting in *Sat.* 2, 2; 2, 3. The main body, however, is not enclosed in a framework of formal dialogue, but is introduced by an expression of personal opinion and feeling, like that with which *Sat.* 1, 6 concludes. It was, undoubtedly, the strength of personal feeling to be expressed that led Horace to return to his earlier method of treatment instead of using the form of *Sat.* 2, 2 and 2, 3, which is better suited to burlesque and *persiflage* than to serious discussion.

In general tone, also, this satire — which has in it little of the satirical element — is a return to the manner of the First Book. It is not, however, a mere turning back. The intervening years had left their healthful mark upon Horace, and in his personal attitude he shows the good effect that success in honest endeavor has upon all men of large nature; he is not less modest, perhaps he is more modest (vss. 40–58), but he no longer needs to explain himself or to defend his conduct. The sense of easy security centered about his closest friend, Maecenas, and about the farm which was the gift of that friend, and he felt the impulse to express his contentment. It is to be remembered, also, that Horace was, as Kiessling reminds us, a 'country boy.' It was in Rome that he had done his work, and there he had made himself a place, but his profoundest interest was not in the life of clubs and dinners. He never ceased to feel the desire for the quieter life of the country, as this satire and *Epod.* 2 sufficiently testify.

Meanwhile, a change had come over public affairs, not unlike the change in his own circumstances. The rule of Octavius had justified itself, so far as such rule can ever be justified, and the security which Horace had received from Maecenas, Rome had had as a gift from Maecenas' chief. Between Octavius and Antony no sane man could hesitate, and beneath the personal contentment which this satire expresses it is easy to hear the note of political repose and contentment which followed the decision at Actium. This satire was not written by the

young republican who fought at Philippi, or by the satirical follower of the more satirical Lucilius, but by a contented friend and citizen.

Hoc erat in votis: modus agri non ita magnus,
hortus ubi et tecto vicinus iugis aquae fons
et paulum silvae super his foret. Auctius atque
di melius fecere. Bene est. Nil amplius oro,
Maia nate, nisi ut propria haec mihi munera faxis.
Si neque maiorem feci ratione mala rem,

1. **Hoc**: elaborated in the rest of the sentence, but with reference also to the scene that lay before him, as he looked out from his farm-house in the morning. — **in votis**: 'was one of the things for which I made my vows.'

2. **iugis**: in form either gen. or nom., but the balance — *vicinus -fons*, *iugis-aquae* — requires a genitive.

3. **super his**: the acc. is more common, but the abl. is freely used by Horace (*super foco*, *Carm.* 1, 9, 5; *super Pindo*, *Carm.* 1, 12, 6). His usage favors the local meaning *above these* (not *in addition to these things*), *i.e.* on the overhanging ridge of the hill. This little wood-land is referred to also in *Carm.* 3, 16, 29 f., *silva iugerum paucorum* and in *Epist.* 1, 14, 1, and there is a fuller description in *Epist.* 1, 16, 5 ff. — **Auctius**: *more liberally*.

5. **Maia nate**: cf. Vergil's *nate dea*. Mercury, as the god of gain (*e.g. Sat.* 2, 3, 25), was the god to whom the prayer for *amplius* would be addressed. — **haec . . . munera**: even more distinctly than *hoc*, vs. 1, a reference to the scene before him. — **faxis**: the archaic form (*fac-s-is*, a sigmatic aorist optative), still used in prayers and curses.

6 f. Cf. the advice of the father to his two sons, *Sat.* 2, 3, 177 f., and the note there. The thought here is the same, but it is expressed somewhat elliptically and with a careful contrast of phrasing which covers up the thought. The real emphasis is upon Horace's contentment with what he has and his determination to avoid in the future, as he has in the past, either of the extremes against which so much of his preaching is directed, either the extreme of money-loving or the opposite extreme of wastefulness. There is no contrast between *ratione mala* and some *ratio bona* nor between *vitio culpave* and some creditable way of lessening one's property, *e.g.* by charity; the contrast is between the *avarus* with his usual *ratio mala* and the *nepos* with his *vitium culpave*.

nec sum facturus vitio culpave minorem;
si veneror stultus nihil horum: 'O si angulus ille
proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum!
O si urnam argenti fors quae mihi monstret, ut illi,
thesauro invento qui mercennarius agrum
illum ipsum mercatus aravit, dives amico
Hercule!' si quod adest gratum iuvat, hac prece te
oro:

The sense of the whole is, 'I am content with what I have. I have not tried (and shall not try) to increase it as men usually do and I (have not been tempted and) shall not be tempted into the common fault of wastefulness.'

8. **veneror**: a rather infrequent use, with cognate acc. or acc. of the thing asked for, without the acc. of the person. Cf. *Carm. Saec.* 49. 'If I utter no such prayer as these.' — **O si**: this expression of a wish is explained in the grammars and is familiar to us from the corresponding English; 'oh, if only . . .'

9. **accedat**: *were added* to his farm. — **denormat**: a technical term in surveying; expressive of the natural and common desire to have a farm marked by straight border-lines.

10. **urnam argenti**: almost exactly the English *a pot of money*, in its original sense.

11 f. **mercennarius**: this would naturally be in the main clause, but is put into the relative clause in order to bring it into closer contrast with *mercatus*. The whole should be very freely rendered into English: 'the man who found a buried treasure and with it bought and cultivated the very farm on which he had been before a hired laborer.'

13. **Hercule**: there are a few references, not perfectly clear, to Hercules as the god of hidden treasures, but the explanation of the reference to him here is to be found in the folk-story that Horace is alluding to, which is given by Porphyrio: 'traditur fabula, fuisse quendam mercennarium qui semper Herculem deprecatus sit, ut sibi boni aliquid praestaret. Quem Hercules ad Mercurium duxit et obsecratum thesaurum fecit ostendi. Quo effosso ille eundem agrum, in quo operam mercennarium faciebat, comparavit et labori solito operam dedit; sique probavit Mercurius, quod de eo praedixerat Herculi, nulla re illum posse beatum vivere, cum in eadem opera post inventionem thesauri perseveravit.' In his allusion Horace has omitted Mercury, who is the real god of gain, and has dropped the

pingue pecus domino facias et cetera praeter
ingenium, utque soles, custos mihi maximus adsis!
Ergo ubi me in montis et in arcem ex urbe removi,
quid prius illustrem saturis Musaque pedestri?
Nec mala me ambitio perdit nec plumbeus Auster
autumnusque gravis, Libitinae quaestus acerbae.
Matutine pater, seu Iane libentius audis,

moral.— **si . . . iuvat**: this repeats the substance of the conditions *si . . . feci, si veneror*, after the long interruption, in order to bring them near the apodosis *oro*.

14 f. **pingue pecus, ingenium**: a pun upon the literal meaning of *pinguis*, *fat*, and the derived sense, *heavy*, as in the English *fat-witted*. — **ut soles**: other references to Mercury as his guardian divinity are *Carm.* 2, 7, 13 (at Philippi); 2, 17, 29 ff.

16 f. **in montis**: Horace says of the site of his farm *continui montes* (*Epist.* 1, 16, 5). — **in arcem ex urbe**: the play upon the similar sound of the words is intentional (cf. Enn. *et arce et urbe* and Livy's famous *hostis pro hospite*) and may be rendered by *citadel* and *city*. — **prius**: like the English *rather*, *i.e. sooner*, in preference to my farm. — **Musa pedestri**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 4, 39 f., *ego me illorum dederim quibus esse poetas excerpam numero*, with the argument which follows. The ambition to be a true lyric poet lies behind this estimate of the work he had already done.

18 f. **ambitio**: something of the original meaning (*amb-ire*, *to go about*, canvassing for votes) is still left in this word, though here the reference is to the social struggle (23 ff.), rather than to the political. — **plumbeus**: the sirocco, *Auster*, brings a peculiar sense of oppression, like a weight. — **Libitinae quaestus**: at the temple of Venus Libitina funerals were registered and fees paid, and the things necessary for a funeral were obtained by undertakers. A season of ill-health, like the autumn (*Epist.* 1, 7, 1–9), was therefore a time of gain (*quaestus*) for the goddess.

20 ff. As the references to the farm, especially vss. 16 f., are meant to indicate the place where this satire was written, so these lines are meant to indicate the time of day, the early morning. And the peaceful beginning of the day in his place of refuge suggests to Horace both the invocation to the god of morning and of all beginnings and also, by contrast, the hurried and senseless round of duties to which the morning sum-

unde homines operum primos vitaeque labores
instituunt (sic dis placitum), tu carminis esto
principium. Romae sponsorem me rapis. 'Heia,
ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urge!'
Sive Aquilo radit terras seu bruma nivalem
interiore diem gyro trahit, ire necesse est.
Postmodo quod mi obsit clare certumque locuto,

mons him at Rome. — **seu Iane**: it was customary in ritual to address the divinity by several different names, leaving it to him to select, as it were, the most acceptable (*libentius*); cf. *Carm. Saec.* 15 f., *sive tu Lucina probas vocari* (= *libentius audis*) *seu Genitalis*. The vocative is used as a direct quotation from the prayer. — **audis**: *art called*; so *rexque paterque audisti*, *Epist.* 1, 7, 37 f., and often. — **unde**: = *a quo*, 'with an invocation to whom.' — In the rather heavy phrases — *operum vitaeque labores*, *instituunt*, *sic dis placitum* — there is a playful formality, as if in his cheerful morning mood Horace amused himself by adopting the formal ritualistic style.

23 ff. These half-humorous lamentations over the so-called social duties which waste the time in Rome are quite in the vein of *Sat.* 1, 9. He is struggling between a sense of what courtesy demands and an impatient desire to be rid of the annoyances. It is annoying to have to go to court on a cold day, but it would be still more annoying to feel that he had failed to meet the claims of friendship; it is highly unpleasant to him to push his way through the crowd and give just cause for remonstrance, and his consciousness of being in the wrong only makes it the harder to bear the impudent remonstrance of the man whom he has jostled.

23 f. **Romae**: emphatic; 'at Rome how differently the day begins!' — **sponsorem**: 'to be security for a friend'; to be asked to perform this office would be evidence that one was regarded as an intimate friend and would often be an honor. — **rapis**: addressed to the god; the morning brings the demand and expresses it in the words which follow, *heia . . . urge*.

25 f. The details — the cold wind, mid-winter, snow, the short day — picture from different sides the discomfort of going out of the house. — **interiore . . . gyro**: as the sun sinks lower in approaching the winter solstice, each daily circle seems to be within that of the preceding day.

27. **Postmodo**: *hereafter*, at some future time. This is the

luctandum in turba et facienda iniuria tardis.
'Quid tibi vis, insane, et quam rem agis?' improbus urget
iratis precibus; 'tu pulses omne quod obstat,
ad Maecenatem memori si mente recurras.'
Hoc iuvat et melli est, non mentiar. At simul atras
ventum est Esquilias, aliena negotia centum
per caput et circa saliunt latus. 'Ante secundam

regular meaning of *postmodo* and it is usually joined with some expression of futurity, as in *Carm.* 1, 28, 31 with *nocituram*; it is to be taken here with *obsit*, not with *luctandum* in the sense of *next, afterwards*. — **quod obsit**: if the friend should fail to meet his obligation. The hazards of such *sponsiones* are often alluded to in classical literature, as the dangers of financial endorsements are in modern literature. — **clare certumque**: *i.e.* having had the disagreeable experience of being told to 'speak out, so that the Court can hear.'

**28. facienda**: it seems worse to him to be forced to be rude than it would be to suffer rudeness.

**29. Quid tibi vis, insane**: a common phrase of colloquial speech. — **quam rem agis**: scarcely less frequent in Plautus than *quid agis?* [The text of this line is taken from Bentley's convincing note.] — **improbus**: *some impudent fellow*; though the remonstrance is justified, the manner of it and the reference to Maecenas are impertinent.

**30 f. precibus**: *curses*, like *di te perduint*, which in form are prayers. This sense of *preces* is usually marked by some distinguishing word in the context (*hostilis*, *Thyesteus*), as here by *iratis*. — **tu**: as the speaker turns and recognizes Horace, he goes on from general curses to a direct and individual taunt: 'oh, it's you, is it? you would of course be in a hurry, on your way to see your great friend!' — **memori . . . mente**: *i.e.* 'your mind is so full of him that you can't remember to be decently polite to the rest of us.'

**32. Hoc**: the thought of his friendship with Maecenas. — **non mentiar**: *i.e.* 'I acknowledge it, though it is inconsistent with my argument that Rome isn't a pleasant place to live in.' — **At**: *but* even this pleasure is half-spoiled. — **atras**: the Esquiline, where the palace and gardens of Maecenas were, had been the site of a large burial-place.

**34. per caput, circa latus**: the

Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras.'
'De re communi scribae magna atque nova te
orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti.'
'Imprimat his cura Maecenas signa tabellis.'
Dixeris, 'Experiar:' 'Si vis, potes,' addit et instat.
Septimus octavo proprior iam fugerit annus,

figures are slightly different from ours, but we say 'it runs through my head,' 'it springs into my mind' — **Ante secundam**: *before seven o'clock;* Roman business began at an early hour.

35. **orabat**: like the epistolary imperfect. — **adesses**: on banking or court business. The *Puteal* was a stone curbing around a spot in the Forum where lightning had struck; the praetor's tribunal was not far from it.

36 f. These lines afford an interesting little glimpse into the professional relations of Horace as a member still of the *ordo* of minor government officials, the *scribae*. It is, in effect, a notice of a meeting of the organization ('important business'), given orally to Horace, who is addressed familiarly by his 'first' name. — **orabant meminisses**: parataxis. — **reverti**: *i.e.* 'to *come back* to the meeting-place to which he used to come when he was an active member of the organization.'

38. **Imprimat . . . cura**: parataxis, like *cura valeas, fac sis fidelis.* — **signa**: *i.e.* he wished Horace to ask Maecenas to set his seal and signature on the document. This would be like putting 'OK' and initials on a paper. As it is known that, during the months within which the composition of this satire must fall, Maecenas was the representative of Octavius in Rome and had authority to use his seal, the document was probably one that had to do with public business.

39. **Dixeris**: as if putting the reader into Horace's position, to make the situation more vivid.

40 ff. The form of expression is apparently intended to suggest increasingly definite reminiscence: 'it's seven years — almost eight — since . . .' — **iam fugerit**: *will soon have passed.* — For the story of the introduction, see *Sat.* 1, 6, 54 ff. The expression here is almost the same as the one used there, *iubes esse in amicorum numero*, with the evident intention of recalling that satire, as the next words recall the journey to Brundisium, *Sat.* 1, 5. The earlier claims to friendship are here qualified, to guard against the interpretations which had been put upon them. The friendship has nothing to do with public affairs.

ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum
in numero, dumtaxat ad hoc, quem tollere reda
vellet iter faciens, et cui concredere nugas
hoc genus : ' Hora quota est ? ' — ' Thraex est Gallina
Syro par ? ' —
' Matutina parum cautos iam frigora mordent ; ' —
et quae rimosa bene deponuntur in aure.
Per totum hoc tempus subiectior in diem et horam
invidiae noster. Ludos spectaverat una,
luserat in Campo : ' Fortunae filius ! ' omnes.
Frigidus a Rostris manat per compita rumor :
quicumque obvius est, me consulit : ' O bone (nam te
scire, deos quoniam propius contingis, oportet),
numquid de Dacis audisti ? ' ' Nil equidem.' ' Vt tu

44 f. Humorous under-statements. The things about which Horace and Maecenas talked were, to people who were thinking of political influence, no more important than remarks about athletics or the weather. — **Thraex** : a particular kind of gladiator armed like a Thracian. — **Gallina** : *the Chicken*, the name given to him in sporting circles. — **Syro** : a slave name, here borne by the gladiator who was to be matched against *Gallina*.

46. **deponuntur** : used of placing valuables or money 'on deposit' in safe hands. — **rimosa** : *i.e.* 'Maecenas tells me none of the state secrets ' like those mentioned below.

48 ff. **noster** : *our friend*, as if holding himself up as an object of sympathy. This use is colloquial and the following illustrations are told in colloquial manner. — **spectaverat** : paratactic with the verb of *omnes*. The plupf. tense makes the relation of the clauses plainer : 'he had been to the shows with Maecenas ; then everybody said . . .' — **luserat** : *Sat.* 1, 5, 48 ; 1, 6, 126.

50. a **Rostris** : the platform in the Forum decorated with the beaks of ships was the center of public discussion and announcement. — **per compita** : *i.e.* through the city, wherever men were gathered ; *Sat.* 2, 3, 25 f.

52. **deos** : a slang word for the prominent men in the state : 'the bosses,' 'The Big Four.'

53 f. **numquid** : frequently used in colloquial Latin, as here, with-

semper eris derisor!' 'At omnes di exagitent me,
si quicquam.' 'Quid, militibus promissa Triquetra
praedia Caesar, an est Itala tellure daturus?'
Iurantem me scire nihil mirantur, ut unum
scilicet egregii mortalem altique silenti.
Perditur haec inter misero lux non sine votis:
O rus, quando ego te aspiciam? quandoque licebit
nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis
ducere sollicitae iucunda oblivia vitae?

out the expectation of a negative answer; 'have you heard anything about the Dacians?' Cf. introd. to this satire and *Carm.* 3, 6, 13 ff., *paene. . . delevit urbem Dacus.* — **Vt . . . eris**: 'how determined you are to prove yourself a mere jester!' — **At**: very common in such asseverations. For the general form of the sentence cf. *di me perdant, si bibi*, Plaut. *M. G.* 833.

**55 f.** The allotment of land to the soldiers of Octavius (*Caesar*) after the battle of Actium was expected and there was great desire among those who were likely to be affected by confiscations or forced sales to know where the lands were to be taken and especially whether they were to be in Italy or perhaps in Sicily.

**57 f. unum**: *the one man.* This is not very different from *unus* with the superlative, *egregii altique* supplying the standard of comparison; cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 24. — **scilicet**: ironical; he was credited with great power of keeping a secret which was, in fact, not known to him.

**59. Perditur**: the only occurrence of a passive form of *perdo* in classical Latin, the forms of *pereo* being elsewhere used. Acro glosses it with *consumitur.* — **misero**: it is hardly necessary to supply *mihi*; the thought is still somewhat impersonal, as in vs. 48. — **votis**: such as follow. But the wishes pass over easily and imperceptibly into a description of an evening in the country and so to the story of Cervius.

**61. veterum libris**: like those Greek books which he had taken with him for his Christmas vacation, *Sat.* 2, 3, 11 f. Horace did not care much for the early Latin literature, though he speaks with respect of Ennius. — **somno**: an undisturbed *siesta.*

**62. ducere . . . oblivia**: *drink in forgetfulness;* so souls about to be born again *longa oblivia potant* (*Aen.* 6, 715) at the water of Lethe.

O quando faba Pythagorae cognata simulque
uncta satis pingui ponentur holuscula lardo?
O noctes cenaeque deum! quibus ipse meique
ante larem proprium vescor vernasque procacis
pasco libatis dapibus. Prout cuique libido est,
siccat inaequalis calices conviva, solutus
legibus insanis, seu quis capit acria fortis
pocula, seu modicis uvescit laetius. Ergo

63 f. The simple fare of the country. — **Pythagorae cognata**: *the relative of Pythagoras;* a little fling at the Pythagorean philosophy. Pythagoras forbade the eating of the flesh of animals because the soul of a human being might be inhabiting the body of the animal. He also forbade the eating of beans; whatever may have been the reason for this prohibition (and many different explanations are given), it was attributed to the same motive, to the belief that the soul of a man, even of a relative, might be dwelling in the bean, and the doctrine in this probably perverted form was made a matter of derision. — **uncta satis**: the fat bacon took the place of olive oil in the salad.

65 ff. This is an ideal picture of the cheerful supper with its pleasant details (*ipse*, the host; *mei*, the intimate friends; *larem*, the sacred hearth; *proprium*, at home; *vernas*, the old family servants; *procacis*, on easy terms with the master; *libatis dapibus*, there is enough for all). A similar scene is suggested, though with less detail, in Cic. *Cat. mai.* 14, 46. — **libatis dapibus**: abl. with *pasco;* the food which the guests have left is enough for the slaves. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 80 f.

67. **Prout . . . libido**: '*each guest, according to his own taste. . . .*'

68 ff. **inaequalis**: defined in the following clauses, *seu . . . seu.* The etiquette of a formal dinner (*legibus insanis*) obliged the guests to drink their wine and water mixed in the same proportion, without regard to the taste of the individual. — **capit**: *holds, carries.* — **acria**: *strong.* — **fortis**: *strong-headed.* — **uvescit**: *grows mellow.* These are all words of half-specialized meaning, in use as a kind of slang in regard to drinking. There is a considerable vocabulary of such words in English, euphemistic and half-humorous.

70. **Ergo**: *so then*, in consequence of all that has been said of the character of the gathering.

sermo oritur, non de villis domibusve alienis,
nec male necne Lepos saltet; sed quod magis ad nos
pertinet et nescire malum est agitamus: utrumne
divitiis homines an sint virtute beati;
quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne, trahat nos;
et quae sit natura boni, summumque quid eius.
Cervius haec inter vicinus garrit anilis
ex re fabellas. Si quis nam laudat Arelli
sollicitas ignarus opes, sic incipit: 'Olim
rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur

71 f. **non de villis**: not the envious or silly gossip that one may hear at more ambitious city dinners. — **Lepos**: *Charm, the Charmer*, a nickname of some dancer on the stage; a real person, admired by Caesar, the Scholiast says.

73 ff. **nescire malum est**: these fundamental doctrines of ethical philosophy cannot be ignored without loss and discredit. — **divitiis ... an virtute**: *i.e.* whether happiness comes from within, from character, or from external advantages, like wealth. — **usus rectumne**: whether friendship is the result of need and of a sense of its advantages (*usus*) or comes from the attractive power of high character. This is one of the questions on which Epicureans and Stoics held opposite views. It is discussed by Cicero in the *de Amicitia*. — **natura boni**: the nature and essence of the Good and the Highest Good — *summum bonum* — the fundamental question in all ancient philosophy, of which Cicero wrote in the *de Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*.

77 ff. **garrit anilis ... fabellas**: there is a touch of modesty in these words — 'he recounts some little story that he had heard from some old woman' — not the tone of contempt that is in 'old-wives' fables,' but enough to disarm criticism. — **ex re**: *to the point*, connected with the talk, perhaps with the question *divitiis an virtute*. — **Arelli**: Greenough's note on this is thoroughly Horatian: 'so that, after all, human nature was too much for them, and they did talk "de villis domibusve alienis."' — **ignarus**: not knowing that money brings anxiety (*sollicitas*). — **Olim**: *once upon a time*.

80 ff. The old story of the Town Mouse and the Country Mouse is retold and put into the mouth of a Sabine farmer with a purpose — like so much of Horace — at once serious and humorous.

accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum,
asper et attentus quaesitis, ut tamen artum
solveret hospitiis animum. Quid multa? neque ille
sepositi ciceris nec longae invidit avenae,
aridum et ore ferens acinum semesaque lardi
frusta dedit, cupiens varia fastidia cena
vincere tangentis male singula dente superbo;
cum pater ipse domus palea porrectus in horna
esset ador loliumque, dapis meliora relinquens.
Tandem urbanus ad hunc: 'Quid te iuvat,' inquit,
'amice,

It enforces in general terms the lesson of Horace's own preference, and it is at the same time an *anilis fabella*, at which one smiles while he recognizes its underlying truth. The actors are Lilliputian, but their action embodies a large truth. This double purpose is reflected in the style, which has a kind of old-fashioned formality. The tone is carefully set in the elaborate structure of the first sentence; the four words *rusticus . . . mus* balance *veterem . . . amicum* —adj.–adj., noun–noun; nom–acc., acc.–nom; *rusticus–urbanum, murem–mus*. This is the manner of the serious teller of an old story, conscious of his moral purpose and not quite conscious of the incongruity between the purpose and the vehicle by which he conveys the lesson.

82. **asper, attentus**: like the ideal Sabine or New England farmer. — **ut tamen**: *but yet such that he could . . . Ita* is commonly used in this kind of sentence.

83. **solveret**: to balance *artum*; he could *relax* his *closeness*.— **Quid multa**: the same phrase is used in *Sat.* 1, 6, 82 and cf. *ne te morer*, *Sat.* 1, 1, 14.

84. **ciceris**: the gen. after *invidit* is a Greek construction. — **sepositi**: *set aside* as too good for ordinary days. The kinds of food —peas, oats, seeds, bits of bacon —are specified in order to heighten the contrast between the solemn moral tone and the littleness of the actions and objects.

86. **fastidia**: *the dainty appetite.*

87. **male**: with *tangentis*; *scarcely touching.*

88. **pater . . . domus**: *the master of the house*; an intentionally fine phrase.

89. **esset**: from *edo*. — **ador loliumque**: *spelt and darnel*, sup-

praerupti nemoris patientem vivere dorso?
Vis tu homines urbemque feris praeponere silvis?
Carpe viam, mihi crede, comes, terrestria quando
mortalis animas vivunt sortita, neque ulla est
aut magno aut parvo leti fuga: quo, bone, circa,
dum licet, in rebus iucundis vive beatus,
vive memor quam sis aevi brevis.' Haec ubi dicta
agrestem pepulere, domo levis exsilit; inde
ambo propositum peragunt iter, urbis aventes
moenia nocturni subrepere. Iamque tenebat
nox medium caeli spatium, cum ponit uterque
in locuplete domo vestigia, rubro ubi cocco
tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos,

posedly easy for a mouse to collect and therefore standing for ordinary food.

91 f. These lines drop back into the purely human attitude; to a mouse *praerupti*, *nemoris*, *dorso* are not hardships nor *homines urbemque* advantages. — **patientem**: 'enduring a hard life.' — **Vis tu**: *why don't you . . . ?* with hortatory effect. [Bentley's note on the difference between *vis tu* and *vin tu* is repeated in substance by most editors, with a reference to *Sat.* 1, 9, 69 as a true interrogation. But *vin tu . . . oppedere?* is not a simple question and Bentley's dictum, though fairly correct for *vis tu*, is entirely fanciful for *vin tu*, many examples of which in Plaut. and Ter. are parallel to his *vis tu*. The evidence is collected in A. J. P., X, 4 (40), p. 415.]

93 f. **mihi crede**: a parenthetic exhortation, to add force to *carpe viam*. — **terrestria . . .**: the Epicurean doctrine, put into fine phrases. — **sortita**: the idea of getting by *lot* is almost lost or resolved into a vague sense of destiny.

95. **aut magno aut parvo**: as commonly used, this means 'even the greatest of us cannot escape'; spoken by the mouse, the meaning is comically reversed. — **quo . . . circa**: an unusual tmesis.

98. **pepulere**: *struck*, influenced his decision. — **levis**: *light-heartedly*.

100 f. In the epic style; cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 9 f. Cf. also *Sat.* 1, 5, 20 for *iam tenebat . . . cum*.

102 f. **cocco . . . eburnos**: the contrast of the red covering with the ivory couch is used also in Catull. 64, 47 ff. in a description of a splendidly furnished palace.

multaque de magna superessent fercula cena,
quae procul extructis inerant hesterna canistris.
Ergo, ubi purpurea porrectum in veste locavit
agrestem, veluti succinctus cursitat hospes
continuatque dapes, nec non verniliter ipsis
fungitur officiis, praelambens omne quod affert.
Ille cubans gaudet mutata sorte bonisque
rebus agit laetum convivam, cum subito ingens
valvarum strepitus lectis excussit utrumque.
Currere per totum pavidi conclave, magisque
exanimes trepidare, simul domus alta Molossis
personuit canibus. Tum rusticus 'Haud mihi vita

104 f. **fercula**: trays, and then the *courses* served on them. — **procul**: *set aside*, removed from the table to a sideboard. — **hesterna**: *i.e.* of the evening before, it being now after midnight.

106 ff. All the appointments of the feast are in contrast to the entertainment in the country (vss. 83 ff.) and the host hurries about like a slave girt up (*succintus*) for waiting on the table. — **continuat**: *i.e.* brings on the courses in quick succession. — **verniliter**: *in true servant-fashion*; defined by *praelambens*. He took stealthily a taste of the food before he brought it to his guest — again in contrast with the true hospitality of the country mouse, vss. 88 f.

110 ff. **bonis rebus**: with *agit* . . . *convivam*, not with *laetum* alone. — **agit**: *he plays the joyous guest*; this use of *agere* is technical of actors, *e.g. egit* in the Didascaliae to the plays of Terence. — **strepitus**: made by the servants coming in the early morning to put the dining-room in order. — **excussit**: a very graphic word.

113 f. **Currere**: the name which Lane gives to this, the infinitive of intimation, is here very apt, while the ordinary name, historical infinitive, is particularly inappropriate. — **trepidare**: often used in connection with *cursare*, *discursu*, *concursare*, as here with *currere*, of aimless and terrified running about. — **simul**: *when*. — **Molossis**: large hounds kept as watch-dogs.

115 ff. **Haud . . . est**: 'I do not care for such a life as this.' For this slightly weakened colloquial sense of *opus est* cf. *Sat.* 1, 9, 27 and the common phrase *nil moror*. It appears to be

est opus hac,' ait, 'et valeas; me silva cavusque
tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur ervo.'

most marked in negative sentences. — **solabitur**: *i.e.* for the loss of the splendors of a city life.

## 7

The precise date of this satire cannot be fixed. The allusion in vs. 23 may be either to *Sat.* 2, 2 or to the second half of *Sat.* 2, 6, and vs. 28, *Romae rus optas*, may also refer to *Sat.* 2, 6, 59 ff. These indications point in a general way to a late date.

The form is the characteristic form of this book, which is used also in Satires 3, 4, and 8. The main body of the satire is a discourse addressed to Horace himself, which is introduced and then brought to a close by bits of dialogue suited to the subject and to speaker and listener. The resemblance to the third satire is particularly close; both are on the feast of the Saturnalia, in both Horace is interrupted by the intrusion of the speaker and in turn interrupts the speaker before the main discourse is reached (3, 26 and 31; 7, 21 f.), and both close with an outbreak of anger on Horace's part.

In substance also this satire is much like the third. That is a discourse upon the Stoic Paradox that all men except the philosopher are insane; this has for its text the other Paradox that all men but the philosopher are slaves, ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς ἐλεύθερος, καὶ πᾶς ἄφρων δοῦλος. This is the subject of Cicero's *Parad.* V. and Horace follows in part the same line of reasoning, using in vss. 89 ff. the illustration of the lover enslaved by a woman and in vss. 95 ff. the illustration of the infatuated admirer of works of art, almost precisely as they are used by Cicero. As in the third satire the preacher upon the insanity of men is the half-crazy Damasippus, so here the person who discourses upon the slavery of men is Horace's own slave, Davus, and as Damasippus gets his wisdom from Stertinius (and Catius, in the fourth satire, from an unnamed *auctor*), so in this satire, with a clever parody, Davus has learned his philosophy from the door-keeper of the philosopher Crispinus. The form of Stoic discourse is less distinctly parodied than in *Sat.* 3, perhaps only in vs. 83, and it is evident that Horace was less inclined to burlesque this Paradox than he had been to flout the doctrine that all men are insane. The truth that men are the slaves of their follies and vices is so familiar to us, that we are, in fact, obliged

to remind ourselves that slavery was an ever-present reality in the Roman world, in order to understand how the doctrine could have been called a paradox at all. This satire is, therefore, even more than the third, and more, indeed, than any other in the Second Book, a direct attack upon the follies of mankind. But the sharpness which shows itself in some of the satires of the First Book is entirely avoided by the humorous expedient of representing the satire as directed against Horace himself, as in the close of the third. That Horace is not drawing a picture of himself, however, is plain from such passages as vs. 53, vss. 89 ff., 102 ff., 110 f.; the faults there attacked are not those to which Horace was prone. But there is enough caricature of himself (vss. 23 ff., 29 ff.) to add a pleasant humor to the whole. It must be said also that there is some return to the intentional coarseness of *Sat.* 1, 2.

*Davus.* Iamdudum ausculto, et cupiens tibi dicere servus
pauca, reformido. *Horat.* Davusne? *D.* Ita, Davus, amicum
mancipium domino et frugi, quod sit satis, hoc est,
ut vitale putes. *H.* Age, libertate Decembri,
quando ita maiores voluerunt, utere; narra.
*D.* Pars hominum vitiis gaudet constanter et urget

1. **ausculto**: the slave has listened at the door to see whether Horace has a caller with him; finding that his master is alone, he ventures to speak. The hesitation and humility (*servus*) of the first words are meant to contrast with his boldness later.

2. **Davusne**: Horace is preoccupied and only half recognizes the slave's voice. The name is a traditional name for a slave.

3. **frugi**: the ordinary adjective in comedy for a good slave, as *nequam* is the adjective for the opposite. — **quod sit satis**: a humorous modification of the claim to goodness; 'honest, or at least honest enough.'

4. **vitale**: cf. *Sat.* 2, 1, 60 f., *ut sis vitalis metuo;* he is good, but not so good as to be in danger of dying young. — **Decembri**: at the feast of the Saturnalia slaves were given a considerable liberty of speech and action, in memory of the Golden Age when there were no masters and no slaves.

5. **narra**: *speak;* this is the early meaning, not *tell*, *narrate*.

6–20. 'Men are not governed by reason even in their vices. Priscus swings from one extreme to the other, as if he were the very

propositum; pars multa natat, modo recta capessens,
interdum pravis obnoxia. Saepe notatus
cum tribus anellis, modo laeva Priscus inani,
vixit inaequalis, clavum ut mutaret in horas,
aedibus ex magnis subito se conderet, unde
mundior exiret vix libertinus honeste;
iam moechus Romae, iam mallet doctus Athenis
vivere, Vertumnis quotquot sunt natus iniquis.
Scurra Volanerius, postquam illi iusta cheragra
contudit articulos, qui pro se tolleret atque
mitteret in phimum talos, mercede diurna
conductum pavit; quanto constantior isdem
in vitiis, tanto levius miser ac prior illo,

god of change himself, while Volanerius hangs on to his follies with as much determination as if they were virtues.'

7. **propositum**: cf. *iustum et tenacem propositi virum*, *Carm.* 3, 3, 1. — **natat**: figurative of hesitation and uncertainty; *float*, *drift*.

8. **obnoxia**: *submissive to*, agreeing with *pars*.

9. **tribus**: one ring was usual, two were conspicuous, three would be effeminate. — **laeva . . . inani**: *i.e.* without any ring, as they were worn only on the left hand.

10. **inaequalis**: cf. *nil aequale homini fuit illi*, in the description of Tigellius at the beginning of *Sat.* 1, 3. — **clavum**: he changed within an hour from the broad stripe of the senator to the narrow stripe of a knight.

12. **mundior**: *more respectable*, a freedman of self-respecting habits. — **honeste**: *decently*. But the contrast is between the refinements of his palace and the dirt and squalor of a hut — *obsoleti sordibus tecti*, *Carm.* 2, 10, 6.

13. **doctus Athenis**: like Cicero's friend, T. Pomponius Atticus.

14. **Vertumnis**: the god of the changing year and so of all change. — **quotquot sunt**: a colloquialism, a little more emphatic than *omnibus*. — **natus iniquis**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 97 f.; 2, 3, 8.

15. **Volanerius**: unknown. — **iusta**: *deserved* by his habits.

17. **in phimum talos**: *put the dice into the box*. — **diurna**: he was too poor to own a slave, but hired a man by the day.

18. **pavit**: from *pasco*; *kept*.

19. **levius**: equal to *minus*; cf. vs. 78.

qui iam contento, iam laxo fune laborat.
*H.* Non dices hodie quorsum haec tam putida tendant,
furcifer? *D.* Ad te, inquam. *H.* Quo pacto, pessime?
*D.* Laudas
fortunam et mores antiquae plebis, et idem,
si quis ad illa deus subito te agat, usque recuses,
aut quia non sentis, quod clamas, rectius esse,
aut quia non firmus rectum defendis, et haeres
nequiquam caeno cupiens evellere plantam.
Romae rus optas; absentem rusticus urbem
tollis ad astra levis. Si nusquam es forte vocatus
ad cenam, laudas securum olus, ac, velut usquam
vinctus eas, ita te felicem dicis amasque
quod nusquam tibi sit potandum. Iusserit ad se
Maecenas serum sub lumina prima venire
convivam: 'Nemon' oleum fert ocius? Ecquis

**20. contento, laxo**: the sense of this figure is plain, but the precise comparison is not clear.

**21. hodie**: in the weakened colloquial sense, as often in comedy; 'aren't you ever going to tell me . . . ?' There is no reference to the Saturnalia.

**24. illa**: the old ways. — **deus subito**: as in *Sat.* 1, 1, 15 ff., a god is represented as suddenly fulfilling wishes that were not sincere.

**28. absentem**: not often used, as here, of things.

**29. levis**: *fickle.* This is the point of the criticism; the accusation of affectation (vs. 25) is aside from the main course of thought.

**30 f. securum olus**: the 'dinner of herbs where love is.' — **usquam**: *i.e.* 'as if you never went out anywhere except on compulsion (*vinctus*).' — **amas**: the nearest English phrase is 'you hug yourself'; cf. *Sat.* 1, 2, 54.

**33. serum**: the invitation comes so late that Horace had already himself invited some unimportant guests, whom he is represented as abandoning in order to accept the invitation of Maecenas.

**34. Nemon', Ecquis**: these are colloquial forms of question used in Plautus and Terence with imperative force; 'won't some one bring the oil? Won't some one listen?'

audit?' cum magno blateras clamore fugisque.
Mulvius et scurrae, tibi non referenda precati,
discedunt. 'Etenim fateor me,' dixerit ille,
'duci ventre levem, nasum nidore supinor,
imbecillus, iners, si quid vis, adde, popino.
Tu, cum sis quod ego et fortassis nequior, ultro
insectere velut melior, verbisque decoris
obvolvas vitium?' Quid, si me stultior ipso
quingentis empto drachmis deprenderis? Aufer
me voltu terrere; manum stomachumque teneto,
dum quae Crispini docuit me ianitor edo.
Te coniunx aliena capit, meretricula Davum.
Peccat uter nostrum cruce dignius? Acris ubi me
natura intendit, sub clara nuda lucerna
quaecumque excepit turgentis verbera caudae,
clunibus aut agitavit equum lasciva supinum,
dimittet neque famosum neque sollicitum ne
ditior aut formae melioris meiat eodem.
Tu cum proiectis insignibus, anulo equestri

35. **fugis**: *and off you go.*

36. **non referenda**: *things that I must not repeat.* — **precati**: cf. *Sat.* 2, 6, 30, *iratis precibus.*

37. **ille**: Mulvius.

39. **si quid vis**: *if you choose.* — **popino**: a haunter of cheap taverns.

40 f. **Tu . . . insectere**: a repudiating question or exclamation. — **verbis decoris**: with fine words about his obligations to Maecenas, when in fact he is, Mulvius implies, going simply to get a good dinner.

42 f. **me**: Davus. — **quingentis**: a rather low price, to emphasize the point; 'you are proved to be a worse fool than I, and I am a cheap slave, too.' — **aufer**: like *noli*; cf. *mitte sectari, Carm.* 1, 38, 3.

44. **manum**: as if Horace, annoyed by vs. 42 f., had started up to strike the slave.

45. **Crispini**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 1, 120, note. The absurdity of quoting him to Horace as an authority is heightened by the fact that the wisdom had trickled down to Davus through the philosopher's door-keeper.

53. **insignibus**: especially the tunic with the narrow purple stripe.

Romanoque habitu, prodis ex iudice Dama
turpis, odoratum caput obscurante lacerna,
non es quod simulas? Metuens induceris, atque
altercante libidinibus tremis ossa pavore.
Quid refert, uri virgis ferroque necari
auctoratus eas, an turpi clausus in arca,
quo te demisit peccati conscia erilis,
contractum genibus tangas caput? Estne marito
matronae peccantis in ambo iusta potestas?
In corruptorem vel iustior. Illa tamen se
non habitu mutatve loco peccatve superne,
cum te formidet mulier neque credat amanti.
Ibis sub furcam prudens, dominoque furenti
committes rem omnem et vitam et cum corpore famam.
Evasti: credo metues doctusque cavebis:
quaeres quando iterum paveas, iterumque perire

— **anulo**: the gold ring which was one of the signs of equestrian rank. — **equestri**: there is no other passage in Horace which suggests that he was an *eques*, and such a supposition is quite inconsistent with the tenor of *Sat.* 1, 6. The reference is general and *tu* is the imaginary person to whom Horace so frequently addresses his remarks; the Davus-Crispinus machinery is for the moment ignored.

54 f. **prodis**: *i.e.* 'when you come out, you are no longer a citizen of good standing (*iudex*), but a miserable slave.' Cf. *Sat.* 2, 5, 18, *spurco Damae.* — **lacerna**: a coarse cloak with a hood for concealing the face.

59. **auctoratus**: *bound over*, as a gladiator was.

60. **conscia**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 2, 130.

61 f. **Estne**: with the force of *nonne*, as often in comedy. — **iusta potestas**: this leads directly toward the point, that in such a case the man is no more than a slave.

66. **sub furcam**: a common punishment for a slave; his wrists were bound to the ends of a forked beam, which rested upon his neck.

68 f. **Evasti**: *i.e.* 'suppose you have got off once safely.' — **quaeres**: an adversative conjunction would be used, if the thought were fully expressed; 'on the contrary, you will seek.'

possis, o totiens servus! Quae belua ruptis,
cum semel effugit, reddit se prava catenis?
'Non sum moechus,' ais. Neque ego, hercule, fur, ubi vasa
praetereo sapiens argentea. Tolle periculum,
iam vaga prosiliet frenis natura remotis.
Tune mihi dominus, rerum imperiis hominumque
tot tantisque minor, quem ter vindicta quaterque
imposita haud umquam misera formidine privet?
Adde super, dictis quod non levius valeat: nam,
sive vicarius est qui servo paret, uti mos
vester ait, seu conservus, tibi quid sum ego? Nempe
tu, mihi qui imperitas, alii servis miser, atque
duceris, ut nervis alienis mobile lignum.
Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens, sibi qui imperiosus,
quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent,

70. **totiens servus**: this approaches still nearer to the point of the argument. Cf. *iusta potestas*, vs. 62.

75 f. **Tune mihi**: repudiating exclamation. — **imperiis**: abl. after *minor*; 'subject to so many and so severe commands.' — **vindicta**: the rod which the lictor laid upon (*imposita*) the slave in going through the old ceremony of manumission.

77. **privet**: *deliver, set free.*

78–82. 'And there is another argument, not less forcible than these. For the fact that you are my master proves nothing; according to your own customs a slave may be himself the owner of a slave and they are then simply fellow-slaves, like you and me.' — **vicarius**: a slave bought or hired by another slave to do his work for him. — **servis**: the verb. — **nervis**: puppets were made of wood and jointed so that their arms and legs could be moved by strings. — **alienis**: controlled by another person.

83. **Quisnam**: the Stoic form of argument, by brief questions and answers. — **Sapiens**: the Stoic philosopher.

85. **responsare**: *defy*; cf. *Sat.* 2, 4, 18. The infin. depends upon *fortis*.

responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
fortis, et in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus,
externi ne quid valeat per leve morari,
in quem manca ruit semper fortuna. Potesne
ex his ut proprium quid noscere? Quinque talenta
poscit te mulier, vexat foribusque repulsum
perfundit gelida, rursus vocat: eripe turpi
colla iugo. 'Liber, liber sum,' dic age! Non quis;
urget enim dominus mentem non lenis, et acris
subiectat lasso stimulos, versatque negantum.
Vel cum Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella,
qui peccas minus atque ego, cum Fulvi Rutubaeque
aut Pacideiani contento poplite miror
proelia rubrica picta aut carbone, velut si
re vera pugnent, feriant, vitentque moventes
arma viri? Nequam et cessator Davus; at ipse
subtilis veterum iudex et callidus audis.

**86 f. in se ipso**: with *totus* only; *self-contained*, independent of all else. The phrase is usually quoted wrongly, as if *totus* by itself were an adjective like *teres*. — **externi . . . morari**: 'so that nothing foreign may be able to rest upon (*morari*) its smooth surface (*leve*).'

**88. manca**: *powerless*.

**89. ex his**: of the qualities just mentioned. The answer to the question is given in the following lines; he cannot be *sibi imperiosus* who is infatuated with a woman or a picture.

**91. rursus vocat**: cf. *Sat.* 2, 3, 260 ff. The picture of the lover is traditional; cf. Ter. *Eun.* 46–49.

**94. stimulos, versat**: as a rider subdues a horse by wearying him.

**95. Pausiaca**: a picture by the famous Greek painter Pausias of the fourth century. — **torpes**: cf. *stupet*, *Sat.* 1, 4, 28, of unbounded admiration for works of art.

**96. Fulvi**: names of gladiators, whose performance was advertised by pictures in black and red drawn on the walls.

**100. cessator**: *i.e.* 'you blame me for having stopped to look at the posters when you had sent me on an errand.'

Nil ego, si ducor libo fumante: tibi ingens
virtus atque animus cenis responsat opimis?
Obsequium ventris mihi perniciosius est cur?
Tergo plector enim. Qui tu impunitior illa,
quae parvo sumi nequeunt, obsonia captas?
Nempe inamarescunt epulae sine fine petitae,
illusique pedes vitiosum ferre recusant
corpus. An hic peccat, sub noctem qui puer uvam
furtiva mutat strigili; qui praedia vendit,
nil servile, gulae parens, habet? Adde, quod idem
non horam tecum esse potes, non otia recte
ponere, teque ipsum vitas, fugitivus et erro,
iam vino quaerens, iam somno fallere curam:
frustra: nam comes atra premit sequiturque fugacem.
*H.* Vnde mihi lapidem? *D.* Quorsum est opus?
*H.* Vnde sagittas?
*D.* Aut insanit homo, aut versus facit. *H.* Ocius hinc te
ni rapis, accedes opera agro nona Sabino!

**102. Nil ego**: sc. *sum*. — **libo**: *pancake*.

**105 f. plector enim**: 'I get a thrashing, to be sure, but that proves nothing, for you suffer worse penalties.'

**107. inamarescunt**: *turn sour*. — **sine fine**: with *petitae*.

**110. mutat**: 'gets a bunch of grapes in exchange for a scraper that he has stolen.'

**111. nil servile . . . habet**: *has nothing of the slave about him*. — **parens**: with the subject of *vendit*.

**111–115.** These lines, which are rather more serious and penetrating than any other part of the satire, seem to be a condensation of Lucr. 3, 1053–1070.

**116. lapidem**: of *Sat.* 2, 3, 128 f., where a master throws stones at his slaves. — **sagittas**: these unusual weapons of attack are named in order to give an opening for the final remark of Davus, *versus facit*; that is, *unde sagittas?* sounds as if it might be taken from a play.

**118. opera . . . nona**: 'You shall be the ninth slave.' The threat to send a slave from the city to the harder work of the farm is frequent in comedy.

# 8

Nothing in this satire fixes the date of composition. It can only be said that it was written between 35 and 30 B.C., and that in subject and general treatment it is like the other satires of this book.

In form it most closely resembles *Sat.* 2, 4; the main part of it is an account of certain sayings and doings related by another person to Horace at his request, with a brief introductory dialogue. The subject-matter connects it both with *Sat.* 2, 2, as a contrast to simple living, and with 2, 4, as a satire in a different vein upon the serious-minded epicure.

The main body of it is a description of a dinner, given in much detail. The names of the guests are mentioned and their places at the table and there are elaborate descriptions of the food and cookery. After the dinner had advanced a little and the host had shown a disposition to brag of his food and wines, some of the guests proposed heavy drinking. The host turned their attention again to the food, but while he was describing one of the dishes, a canopy over the table fell and covered the whole company with dust. The host at this mishap burst into tears and was with difficulty induced by the encouragements of some of his guests, which he did not perceive to be ironical, to proceed with the feast. When he did go on, he continued to talk so much about the food, that the guests, in revenge, declined to eat it. The satire ends abruptly, without the concluding dialogue or comment which is generally found in the satires of this book.

This is not a description of some actual dinner at the house of an individual who might be identified. All attempts to connect the host, Nasidienus Rufus, with some person known to us, — for example, with Salvidienus Rufus, — fail in details and are mistaken in their purpose. It is quite inconceivable that Horace should have made public the story of such a dinner, at which Maecenas and Varius were guests, and should have represented a well-known man like Fundanius as guilty of the extreme discourtesy of ridiculing the host whose invitation he had accepted. To readers of Horace's time the mere fact that the story is told by Fundanius, the writer of humorous plays, would at once have given the clew to the burlesque character of the whole. It is no more to be taken as serious narrative than the legal consultation in *Sat.* 2, 1, the discourse of Ofellus in 2, 2, the sermon of Damasippus in 2, 3, or in fact any satire of this book except the earlier half of the sixth.

But though the setting and the details are pure burlesque, there is a certain amount of serious purpose underneath, as in *Sat.* 2, 3, for example, where the Stoic is burlesqued, but the follies of mankind are also satirized. The host at the banquet, who is here ridiculed on his lighter side, is a type of the same man who is attacked with savage directness in *Epod.* 4, the man of low station and no culture, whose suddenly acquired wealth has not changed his nature. He is represented here as an aspiring epicure, proud of his knowledge of the art of cookery and seeking to advance his acquaintance with Maecenas by giving him a particularly fine dinner. But the ridicule is directed quite as much, perhaps even more, against the absurd solemnities of the epicure. There are passages (vss. 6 ff., 43 ff., especially 85 ff.) which are indistinguishable in tone and manner from parts of *Sat.* 2, 4, and which have no point at all unless we understand them as we do that satire, — as ironical parodies of the precepts of fine cookery.

This is not one of the best of the satires. The humor is not always in good taste; there is too close an approach to horse-play and, though Maecenas and the literary men are kept in the background, with the evident purpose of guarding their dignity, the rest of the guests are not superior in good-breeding to the host whom they ridicule. The scene is, with some differences, not unlike the supper described in *Sat.* 1, 5, 51 ff. and, in general, this satire has many of the characteristics, both positive and negative, of *Sat.* 1, 5. The explanation is that Horace is here also, as in 1, 5, following a satire of Lucilius (Charis. in *Gr. Lat.* p. 100 K., *Lucilius . . . deridens rusticam cenam;* the fragments are in Marx, 193 ff.), doubtless improving upon the form, but hampered by his model. The grave and sustained irony of *Sat.* 2, 4, when no Lucilian influence is discernible, is much superior to this.

*Horatius.* Vt Nasidieni iuvit te cena beati?
Nam mihi quaerenti convivam dictus heri illic

1. **Vt . . . iuvit te**: change the construction in translating; 'how did you enjoy yourself at the dinner of —— ?' — **Nasidieni**: in four syllables, the second *i* being consonantal and lengthening the preceding syllable; this is probably a plebeian pronunciation, intentionally used in the first line. — **beati**: *rich, the millionaire*, with a touch of irony.

2. **quaerenti convivam**: sc. *te;* 'when I tried to get you to come and dine with me.' — **dictus**: sc. *es;* the omission is not at all infrequent in colloquial Latin, as in

de medio potare die. *Fundanius.* Sic, ut mihi numquam
in vita fuerit melius. *Hor.* Da, si grave non est,
quae prima iratum ventrem placaverit esca.
*Fund.* In primis Lucanus aper leni fuit Austro
captus, ut aiebat cenae pater; acria circum
rapula, lactucae, radices, qualia lassum

comedy. — **heri**: the pronunciation of the last letter was so indistinct that the word was written sometimes *heri*, sometimes *here*.

3. **de medio die**: the dinner began before the usual hour, which was three o'clock or later, as it was to be a formal affair. The Roman custom in this respect was the opposite of ours.

4. **fuerit melius**: *mihi bene est*, 'I am enjoying myself,' is a common colloquialism; cf. *Sat.* 2, 2, 120.

5. **iratum ventrem**: cf. *latrantem stomachum*, *Sat.* 2, 2, 18. The question is ironical, as if the object of a formal dinner was to satisfy a natural hunger.

6–9. Our knowledge of Roman dinner customs is imperfect, the fashions changed from time to time, and this description is meant to be only a series of allusions. It is therefore quite impossible to arrange the *menu* or even to decide whether this course constituted the *gustatio* (*promulsis*); the relishes served with the boar would indicate that it did; the fact that no drink (*mulsum*) is mentioned would, however, be a strange omission.

6 f. **leni . . . Austro captus**: not predicate with *fuit*; 'one of the first things was a Lucanian boar, killed, as the host said, when a mild southerly wind was blowing.' The Lucanian boar was especially prized and the state of the weather at the time the animal was killed was supposed to affect the flavor of the meat; cf. *Sat.* 2, 2, 32 ff. and the modern superstitions about the 'dark of the moon.' — **cenae pater**: he is called also *erus* (vss. 16, 43), *ipse* (23), *parochus* (36), and *convivator* (73), as well as *Nasidienus* (1, 75, 84) and *Rufus* (58).

7 f. **acria**: introducing the whole list and repeated in *qualia . . . stomachum*. The relishes are only partly in use now nor is the precise identification of them at all important: 'rape, lettuce, radishes, skirret, fish-pickle, and burnt tartar from Coan wine.' These were arranged around (*circum*) the boar, perhaps on the same platter.

pervellunt stomachum, siser, allec, faecula Coa.
His ubi sublatis puer alte cinctus acernam
gausape purpureo mensam pertersit et alter
sublegit quodcumque iaceret inutile quodque
posset cenantis offendere, ut Attica virgo
cum sacris Cereris procedit fuscus Hydaspes
Caecuba vina ferens, Alcon Chium maris expers.

10. **ubi**: introduces *pertersit et sublegit*; 'when these had been removed and after a slave had wiped . . .' — **alte cinctus**: the same as *succinctus*, 2, 6, 107; the slave was in the proper dress for waiting at the table. — **acernam**: *maple*, one of the more valuable woods for dining-tables; as one might speak of 'the mahogany table,' not as a rarity, but as the 'proper thing.'

11. **gausape purpureo**: abl.; this was a bit of unnecessary display. Lucilius, in a corresponding passage (Marx, 568), has *purpureo tersit tunc latas gausape mensas*.

12. **sublegit**: this is mentioned merely as a part of the ordinary table service in order to prepare for the formality of the next event; 'a slave in proper dress wiped the table — with a purple cloth, to be sure — and the crumbs were gathered up, when in came . . .'

13 f. **ut**: with *virgo*; 'like a girl at Athens in a religious procession.' The *κανηφόρος* (cf. *Sat.* 1, 3, 10 f.) carried the sacred symbols in a basket on her head and walked with slow step and upright carriage. — **Hydaspes**: an Eastern slave-boy, named after the river of his native land.

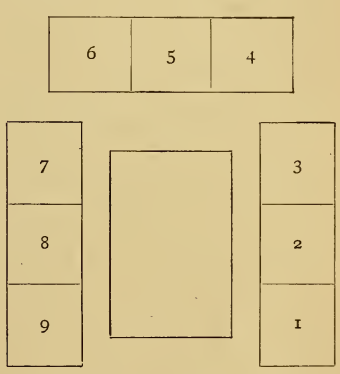
15 f. **Alcon**: another slave. The fact that his name is given would seem to indicate that there was some point in it, as in *Hydaspes*, but we do not know what it was. — **Caecuba**: one of the best of the Italian wines, as were also the Alban, in the time of Horace, and Falernian. The Chian was a fine Greek wine, with which seawater was sometimes sparingly mixed to give it a tang. Horace frequently mentions these and other special kinds of wine, contrasting them with the ordinary Sabine wine, as we might contrast special French or German wines with Californian claret, but he does not make sharp distinctions between them. The preference for Caecuban came later, when the vineyards were dying out and the wine was becoming rare. The many attempts of commentators to find hidden meanings in these lines are all misleading. The slaves brought in the best of wine,

Hic erus: 'Albanum, Maecenas, sive Falernum
te magis appositis delectat, habemus utrumque.'
*Hor.* Divitias miseras! Sed quis cenantibus una,
Fundani, pulchre fuerit tibi, nosse laboro.
*Fund.* Summus ego, et prope me Viscus Thurinus, et
infra,

with a trifle more ceremony than was necessary, and the host, also with unnecessary display, said 'if you prefer, I can give you some Alban or Falernian.' The wines are all right, — the very best, — but why such a fuss about them? — **maris expers**: *i.e.* not mixed with sea-water. This was a proper, if less usual, way of serving Chian wine, but it might have been left to the guests to discover it, instead of making a formal announcement, as it is implied that the slave did.

**18 f. Divitias miseras**: 'oh, the curse of being so rich!' or perhaps like saying, 'oh, poor millionaire!' This exclamation interprets to us the point of the preceding lines. The unfortunate host thinks that the wines and cookery which his money can buy are the things that make a successful dinner. But Horace goes to the root of the matter by asking who the other guests were. — **quis**: *quibus*, interrogative. The English structure would make *cenantibus* the leading verb: 'but who were dining there with you, that you should have such a good time? That's what I want to know.'

**20 ff.** The guests reclined on couches on three sides of the table. The arrangement can be understood from the following diagram: —




1. Fundanius; 2. Viscus; 3. Varius; 4. Servilius Balatro; 5. Vibidius; 6. Maecenas; 7. Nomentanus; 8. Nasidienus Rufus; 9. Porcius.

**20. Summus**: the three places numbered 1, 4, and 7 were the *summi loci*, in position, not in honor, and *infra* and *super* refer to this designation. — **Viscus**: one of the brothers mentioned in *Sat.* 1, 10, 83, here distinguished by the addition of *Thurinus*.

si memini, Varius ; cum Servilio Balatrone
Vibidius, quas Maecenas adduxerat umbras ;
Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra,
ridiculus totas simul absorbere placentas ;
Nomentanus ad hoc, qui, si quid forte lateret,
indice monstraret digito : nam cetera turba,
nos, inquam, cenamus avis, conchylia, piscis,
longe dissimilem noto celantia sucum,
ut vel continuo patuit, cum passeris atque

21. **Varius**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 40; 1, 10, 44, and often; one of Horace's and Vergil's closest friends. There is probably some little joke in *si memini*.

22. **Maecenas**: he was in the place of honor, the *locus consularis*, numbered 6 in the diagram. — **umbras**: persons whom the chief guest might bring with him, without special invitation from the host. So Horace, inviting a friend, says (*Epist.* 1, 5, 28), *locus est et pluribus umbris*. Men who came in such a way would ordinarily be of lower rank, and Servilius and Vibidius were evidently *scurrae* (see note on *Sat.* 2, 3, 229), who were expected to furnish entertainment for the others. In fact all the conversation reported (vss. 34, 65 ff., 80 ff.) comes from them or from the host and his own *scurrae*.

23. **Nomentanus, Porcius**: two parasites of the host. Nomentanus is not the spendthrift mentioned in other satires (1, 1, 102; 1, 8, 11; 2, 1, 22; 2, 3, 175, 224). The name Porcius is coined from *porcus;* cf. the next verse. — **super ipsum**: *i.e.* Nasidienus had given the host's place (no. 7) to his more fluent parasite, for the reason given in vs. 25.

24. **totas simul**: *all at once.* Various kinds of buffoonery like this are alluded to in Plautus as practiced by parasites.

25 f. **ad hoc**: also in *Sat.* 2, 1, 36, to introduce a clause of purpose. — **lateret**: *pass unnoticed* by the guests. — **indice digito**: *i.e.* he should not only speak of it, but also point to it. — **cetera turba**: the instruction was obviously given to Maecenas and the others were a mere *turba*, left for the most part uninstructed as to the nature of the food before them.

27. **inquam**: not strengthening the previous statement, but explaining it; *we, I mean.*

28 ff. **celantia**: neut., agreeing with the three nouns of different gender. — **noto**: sc. *suco;* dat. after *dissimilem.* — **vel**: *in fact.* — **passeris**: *flat-fish;* the name

ingustata mihi porrexerat ilia rhombi.
Post hoc me docuit melimela rubere minorem
ad lunam delecta. Quid hoc intersit, ab ipso
audieris melius. Tum Vibidius Balatroni,
'Nos nisi damnose bibimus, moriemur inulti;'
et calices poscit maiores. Vertere pallor
tum parochi faciem, nil sic metuentis ut acris

of a bird transferred to a fish, as in 'sea-robin.' — **ingustata**: apparently found only here; it can mean either *untasted*, *i.e.* 'which I did not taste,' or *untasted hitherto*, 'of such a flavor as I had never known before.' — **prorrexerat**: the subject is Nasidienus. — **ilia**: *the roe.* — The sense is: 'Nomentanus explained the excellence of the dishes to Maecenas only, for the rest of us were of no importance (*turba*) and ate all sorts of things without knowing what was fish, flesh, or fowl; for the ordinary taste was covered up by some extraordinary sauce. I in fact made a mistake at the outset by failing to recognize some fish-roe which my host had passed to me and which had a taste that I had never known before.'

31. **melimela rubere**: 'that the honey-apples were red because they were picked . . .' — **minorem**: the waning moon. This verse has nothing to do with the preceding, but is a bit of esoteric wisdom which the epicure obligingly imparted (*docuit*) to his ignorant guest. Cf. vs. 6 f. This is exactly in the ironical manner of *Sat.* 2, 4.

32 f. **ab ipso**: *i.e.* 'you will have to ask him; *I* don't pretend to know.' — **audieris**: the potential with a comparative, as often.

34. **damnose**: *i.e.* to the ruin of the host; 'drink him bankrupt.' — **moriemur inulti**: this is the cry of the epic hero facing death; so Hector, *Il.* 22, 304 f., μὴ μὰν ἀσπουδί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην, | ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξαστι, and Aeneas, *Aen.* 2. 670, *numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti.*

35 ff. **Vertere pallor . . . faciem**: *i.e.* 'he turned pale,' but the expression is somewhat odd; not the same as *Epod.* 4, 9 ff. — **parochi**; *our steward, our caterer;* with some contempt. Cf. for the use of the word in its ordinary sense, *Sat.* 1, 5, 46. — **vel quod . . . vel quod**: there is no reason whatever for looking behind these perfectly good explanations to discover some discreditable motive, like stinginess. Vss. 41 and 81 are perfectly consistent with these lines taken in their simple sense. —

potores, vel quod male dicunt liberius vel
fervida quod subtile exsurdant vina palatum.
Invertunt Allifanis vinaria tota
Vibidius Balatroque, secutis omnibus; imi
convivae lecti nihilum nocuere lagenis.
Affertur squillas inter murena natantis
in patina porrecta. Sub hoc erus 'Haec gravida,' inquit,
'capta est, deterior post partum carne futura.
His mixtum ius est: oleo quod prima Venafri
pressit cella; garo de sucis piscis Hiberi;
vino quinquenni, verum citra mare nato,
dum coquitur — cocto Chium sic convenit, ut non
hoc magis ullum aliud; — pipere albo, non sine aceto,

**male dicunt**: as in *Sat.* 1, 4, 86 ff. — **exsurdant**: the real epicure is especially anxious that his fine cookery should be properly appreciated.

39. **Allifanis**: large cups, named from the town of Allifae. — **vinaria**: *jugs;* we should say 'bottles,' 'decanters.'

40 f. **imi . . . lecti**: the three couches were called *summus* (nos. 1, 2, 3 on the diagram), *medius* (nos. 4, 5, 6), and *imus*. The two parasites of the host of course followed his wish and drank little. — **nihilum nocuere**: the same idea is in the English 'to spare the bottle.'

42 f. The Roman cooks sought to produce odd or realistic effects in the arrangement of the food on the platter. — **Sub hoc**: *at this*, as this appeared.

44. **futura**: *for it would be.* This piece of epicure's wisdom is accepted by commentators as sound and a matter of common knowledge; it may be so.

45 ff. **His**: 'the following ingredients.' The other ablatives — *oleo*, *garo*, *vino*, *pipere* — are appositives of *his*. — **Venafri**: the olives of Venafrum were considered especially good and the oil which came from the first pressing was better than that extracted later. — **garo**: something like *caviare*. — **piscis Hiberi**: *mackerel*. — **citra mare**: Italian; the phrase is a little too fine to be used of wine. Cf. *Sat.* 1, 10, 31. — **dum coquitur**: *while it is cooking*. — **cocto**: *after it is cooked* Chian wine is exactly the right thing to pour in; here also the wisdom is clothed in fine language.

quod Methymnaeam vitio mutaverit uvam.
Erucas viridis, inulas ego primus amaras
monstravi incoquere; inlutos Curtillus echinos,
ut melius muria quod testa marina remittat.'
Interea suspensa gravis aulaea ruinas
in patinam fecere, trahentia pulveris atri
quantum non Aquilo Campanis excitat agris.
Nos maius veriti, postquam nihil esse pericli
sensimus, erigimur: Rufus posito capite, ut si
filius immaturus obisset, flere. Quis esset
finis, ni sapiens sic Nomentanus amicum
tolleret: 'Heu, Fortuna, quis est crudelior in nos
te deus? Vt semper gaudes illudere rebus

50. The sense is almost hidden under the poetic expression; 'vinegar made by fermentation (*vitio*) of the Methymnaean cluster,' *i.e.* from Lesbian wine.

51 ff. A little claim to original research by Nasidienus — he had discovered the good effect of boiling green rockets and bitter elecampane into the sauce — with a generous acknowledgment of the investigations of a certain Curtillus, who had observed that if sea-urchins are not washed in fresh water before boiling, the brine from their shells is better than the ordinary brine. The construction in vs. 53 is *ut* (*id*) *quod marina testa* (the shell of the sea-urchin) *remittat melius* (*est*) *muria*. Cf. 89, note.

54 ff. While Nasidienus was speaking, the canopy which hung from the ceiling suddenly fell upon the table, destroying the valuable sauce and covering the guests with dust. — **Campanis**: the level lands of Campania were especially dusty in the dry season.

57. **maius**: the fall of the ceiling itself. — **veriti**: make this a leading verb in the translation.

58. **erigimur**: like a middle voice and in a literal sense, 'we lifted up our heads,' to contrast with *posito capite*. — **Rufus**: *i.e.* Nasidienus. — **posito capite**: this also should be a leading verb in the English; 'put down his head and wept.'

59 f. **Quis . . . finis**: 'what would have ended it?' *i.e.* 'he would be crying still, had not Nomentanus . . .' — **sapiens**: *like a philosopher*, with the philosophic remarks which follow.

humanis!' Varius mappa compescere risum
vix poterat. Balatro suspendens omnia naso,
'Haec est condicio vivendi,' aiebat, 'eoque
responsura tuo numquam est par fama labori.
Tene, ut ego accipiar laute, torquerier omni
sollicitudine districtum, ne panis adustus,
ne male conditum ius apponatur, ut omnes
praecincti recte pueri comptique ministrent!
Adde hos praeterea casus, aulaea ruant si,
ut modo, si patinam pede lapsus frangat agaso.
Sed convivatoris, uti ducis, ingenium res
adversae nudare solent, celare secundae.'
Nasidienus ad haec: 'Tibi di quaecumque preceris
commoda dent! Ita vir bonus es convivaque comis:'

63. **Varius**: a little joke at the expense of a good friend, possibly with some special point to it which their common friends would see.

64. **suspendens . . . naso**: cf. *Sat.* 1, 6, 5, *naso suspendis adunco*, and note. Greenough translates, *always a scornful cynic.* He felt himself to be a great man's attendant.

65. **eo**: *for that reason*, because we are all subject to the chances of life.

67 ff. A distinct reminiscence, both in structure and in substance, of the parasite's speech in Terence, *Phorm.* 339 ff., to which there is a reference also in *cena dubia*, *Sat.* 2, 2, 77. — **ego**: ironical, since Balatro had come merely as Maecenas' *umbra*. — **laute**: colloquial; *handsomely*. — **male conditum ius**: with reference to the sauce which Nasidienus had just been describing. — **compti**: the dressing of the hair of the young slaves who waited on the table was attended to as carefully as their attire.

71 f. **Adde . . . praeterea**: 'and on the top of it all come such misfortunes as these.' — **ut modo**: *as happened just now*, to distinguish the actual occurrence from the imagined mishap of a fallen platter. — **agaso**: *i.e.* some clumsy slave, no better than a stable-boy.

73 f. **uti ducis**: a flattering comparison; 'the giver of a dinner is like a general.' — **nudare**: *disclose*, *reveal* his powers.

75 f. **Tibi di . . . dent**: a common kind of wish, often used in greetings; Plaut. *M. G.* 1038, *di tibi dent quaecumque optes*, and cf.

et soleas poscit. Tum in lecto quoque videres
stridere secreta divisos aure susurros.
*Hor.* Nullos his mallem ludos spectasse; sed illa
redde, age, quae deinceps risisti. *Fund.* Vibidius dum
quaerit de pueris, num sit quoque fracta lagena,
quod sibi poscenti non dantur pocula, dumque
ridetur fictis rerum Balatrone secundo,
Nasidiene, redis mutatae frontis, ut arte
emendaturus fortunam; deinde secuti

*Sat.* 1, 9, 5, *cupio omnia quae vis*. It is like 'God bless you!' Nasidienus takes the ill-bred irony of Balatro quite seriously and simply, showing in fact better manners than some of his guests.

77. **soleas poscit**: the light shoes ordinarily worn in the house were removed when the guests took their places, and to ask for them was to express a desire to rise from the table. Nasidienus, encouraged by what the two parasites had said, prepares to go on with the feast and gets up in order to have the damage repaired and the other dishes brought in. — **Tum**: when he had gone out to give his orders. — **quoque**: from *quisque*. — **videres**: *you might see*; indefinite 2d pers. with potential meaning, as often; cf. *Sat.* 1, 5, 76.

78. **divisos**: first to one side, then to the other. The alliteration with *s* imitates the sound of whispering.

79 f. The interruption by Horace marks the end of the main story and introduces the conclusion, giving the effect of dialogue. Cf. the similar and rather more skilful dialogue in *Sat.* 2, 3, 300–307, followed by the speech of Damasippus, 307–323. — **Nullos . . . ludos**: 'I'd rather have seen this than any games.' Greenough compares the English 'as good as a play.' — **quae deinceps**: 'what you found next to laugh at.'

81 f. **quoque**: with *sit fracta*; he asked whether there was another breakage, of the wine-jugs as well as of the *aulaea*. — **quod**: *that*. — **pocula**: the wine, not the cups. In the confusion the slaves had forgotten to keep the cups filled.

83. **fictis rerum**: they invented jokes to cover their laughter at the fall of the canopy and the simplicity of the host. Cf. *vanis rerum*, *Sat.* 2, 2, 25. — **secundo**: playing second to Vibidius, who led the pretended jesting.

84 f. **Nasidiene**: the vocative and the phrase *arte emendaturus* are parodies of the epic style.

mazonomo pueri magno discerpta ferentes
membra gruis sparsi sale multo, non sine farre,
pinguibus et ficis pastum iecur anseris albae,
et leporum avolsos, ut multo suavius, armos,
quam si cum lumbis quis edit. Tum pectore adusto
vidimus et merulas poni et sine clune palumbes,
suavis res, si non causas narraret earum et
naturas dominus; quem nos sic fugimus ulti,
ut nihil omnino gustaremus, velut illis
Canidia afflasset peior serpentibus Afris.

**86. mazonomo**: properly a platter for bread, here put to a different use as a novelty in table-service. — **discerpta**: already carved; the custom was to serve fowls and game whole and have them carved on the table by a specially trained slave.

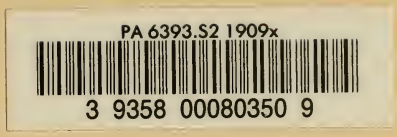
**87 f. gruis**: here masc., though commonly fem., as *anser*, commonly masc., is here made fem. The gender of such words is grammatical and somewhat shifting, but apparently the unusual gender is chosen to indicate sex, as though the epicure could tell the sex by the taste. — **albae**: used in the same way, to ridicule the epicure's claim to delicacy of palate. — **iecur**: a kind of *pâté de foie gras*. And the white goose must have been fed upon ripe figs.

**89. avolsos, ut suavius**: an exact parallel to *inlutos ut melius*, vss. 52 f.; but the order here expresses the sense better. The doctrine that in this case the shoulders should be torn off, not cut, is like the notion that a pear should never be cut, a pure fantasy.

**90 ff. edit**: pres. subjv., the older optative form, for the most part displaced by the regular subjv. *edat*. — The peculiarity of the dishes is in *pectore adusto* 'with the breasts broiled' and *sine clune*, 'without the rump.' — **suavis res**: 'very good eating, if only . . .' — **causas . . . et naturas**: philosophical terms; Nasidienus discoursed about his dishes as a philosopher might *de rerum natura*.

**93. sic**: with *ulti*, anticipating *ut*; 'taking our revenge for his talk by not eating any more of his food.'

**95. Canidia**: often mentioned as a sorceress and poisoner and directly attacked in *Sat.* 1, 8 and *Epod.* 5 and 17. This personal stroke at the end is like *Sat.* 1, 1, 120 f.; 1, 2, 134.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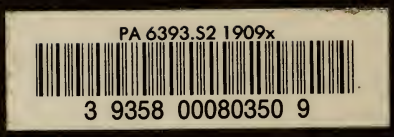
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